

THE  
SEPARATION  
OF THE  
CHURCH OF ROME  
FROM THE  
Church of England,

FOUNDED

Upon a Selfish and Unchristian Interest.

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By a PRESBYTER in the Diocess of Canterbury.

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## The EPISTLE to the READER.

Courteous Reader!

**F**OR Right or Wrong, so we Call all. Not that we Believe they will be so, but because we would have them so. For when a Man hath been at no small Pains (at least as he thinks) for the Benefit of Others, he is very prone to expect, as his due, a Return of Kindness or Candour: But on the other Hand, He, who is at the trouble to Peruse, takes it to be his Privilege to Judge; and so far he judgeth right, if he proceed not further, thinking he cannot be a Judge, unless he be malicious; And that the Business of Reading a Book is to find or make more Faults than there is, not to make an honest Advantage of what may be found useful. Upon this Score, he that Adventures on the Press, brings Himself like a Bear to a Stake, where though he may Fancy he Creates Others great Diversion, yet He himself is sure to be the Sufferer, and becomes liable to be Basted at every ones pleasure. But he is as it will, I have wrote my Thoughts freely, and I Envy no Man the same freedom of speaking his: Only I could wish all Men would Consider, That sometimes Men run down-Hill faster, then is for their own Convenience, and that Liberty loseth its Nature, when it degenerates into Licentiousness, or becomes a Cloak of Maliciousness: I will not waste time in fruitless Apologies; For of this small Treat hath nothing in it self to Buy it up, it must certainly Sink; for it is not all the Daubing and Flattery in the World, that will Perswade Honest, Sober or Judicious Men, to embrace Senseless Impertinence: And as for Others I desire not the Scandal of their good Opinion.

If this little thing should be any whist taken Notice of in the World, I know it will be bitterly Obj. Red, That I seem inclinable to the Exercise of a more severe Discipline, then hath (at least of late) been Exercised amongst us, or then this loose Age will bear, in which perhaps there is too much Truth. But I could wish the Reader would suspend his Censure, till he hath Considered these few things I shall Return in Answer. First, that in an Age wherein all Men are Carvers to themselves for Religion, it is but equal, that they should not deny me, who am very sparing of using it, the same Liberty with themselves; especially since a maxon or loose Practice of Religion may be as mease to me, as the strictest Rules, Order or Decency can be to them. Secondly, because in this I am not Singular, but have not only the Judgement of the Fathers and Practice of the Primitive Church, but the Constitutions of our own Church on my side, which (to Avoid Numerous Instances,) is evident from the Preface before the Communion Appointed to be Read on Ash-Wednesday. Thirdly, that the more ungrateful it may be to Un-governable tempers. So much the more necessary it is for the Safety and Peace of the Church, and perhaps also of the State. For, for want of this all things Run into Disorder and Confusion, Discipline being not only the Fence about Doctrine, but the Procrer and Preserver of good Manners, and sober Conversation; And in vain shall Men Reason, Talk or Preach, whilst the Corruptions, Discontents, Pride, and various ill Humours of the greatest part of Man-

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Kind knows no other Art, then the simple Restraints of bare Persuasions. But Romanists and Dissenters frequently with open Mouth upbraid us, that we have not that Influence on the Lives, Manners and Actions of our People, which they have, and that merely for want of Discipline, which indeed is true, though we do not desire so much as they have. For by useful Experience we find, that they can as powerfully Influence them to ill Actions, as good. But at the same time they forget to tell us, that they ~~lose~~ <sup>lose</sup> all their Forces, and make all possible Interest, that we may be Tied up from the Exercise of the most just and necessary Discipline, and that partly in fear, lest a Discipline as primitive as our Doctrine joined together, should get Ground so fast in the World, that in time they might become Ashamed, or grow weary of their Trade. It was the Observation of a Learned Person, that the Cunning and Master-piece of the Eusebians lay in Evincing the Discipline of the Church, under a pretence of Moderation; not doubting, but that if Discipline were broken, the Arabian Doctrine would easily break in: And indeed this hath been the Practice of He cricks all along: And whatever the Persons might gain, the Church was ever a Loss by the Devices of her Projectors; for neither the Henoticon of Zeno, nor the Capitula of Justinian, nor the Interim of Charles the Fifth, nor all the Tricks and Contrivances of our Modern Trimmers, Torsioners and Comprachers, ever did the Church of God any good, but Animated all Parties, and made the Breach wider, and more irreconcilable. The Judgement of Queen Elizabeth is herein very Considerable, because of the Reasons that go along with it; For the forsaking the Primitive Rule, and Allowing the Publick Profession of Variety of Religious Persuasions, she saith is nothing else, but Religionem ex Religione ferere, mentes bonorum variè distrahere, sacrosanctorum Studia alere, Religionem atque Rempublicam conturbare, & divina humanaque commiscere: Quod est re malum, Exemplo pessimum, suis perniciosum, & illis ipsis, quibus permittum, nec admodum commodum, nec plane tutum. (Camb. Ann. Eliz. par. 1. p. 28.)

What is here wrote is only a Preparatory to my principal Design, which was to shew, That notwithstanding all the High and Specious Pretences of the Romanists, when Matters are thoroughly Examined, the only true Reason of their difference with us would be found to be Interest, and that such an interest, as (to say no worse) is very unbecoming the Professors of Christian Religion. This alone was first in my thoughts, and the rather, because I observed that many had touched upon it in their Way, but no Man so far as I know had ever yet made it his Business. But upon second Thoughts, though I did not depart from my first Design, yet I thought fit to Enlarge it; not only because some would think that alone would look more like a Libel, then a just Plea; but because I myself did think, that to Common Apprehensions it would leave things in the dark, and not be very profitable to any, and perhaps to some hurtful; For as some vain Mindes are Apt to take Occasion from our Dissentions to Burlesque all Religions, so some Persons Addicted to the Reading of

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Controversies, have Learned Skill enough to Condemn others, but not to know themselves; and they can tell you what they are not, but not what they are. Now a purely Negative Religion at best is next to no Religion, if it be any at all. Now though this be not the fault of those Authors, who are bound to follow their Adversaries Steps, but of those Men who will only Bustle themselves in such Authors; yet when my Method and Matter was wholly at my own Choice, and in my own power, I could not think my self excusable, if I should proceed only in a destructive way; And therefore in reference to the Parts which are to follow, I did propound to my self to state the Case between us in each particular, to set down positively what we do Hold or can Allow; And then to Enquire into the Reasons of the Controversie, both pretended and real; for that Method I take to be best, which leaves Men not at a Loss for Rights, whilst it fortifies them against the Wrong.

When in the late great Ferment of the Nation, Controversial Pieces flew so thick about, this First Part was then ready for the Press, but for a very Justifiable Reason then laid Aside; Whether ever I shall be able to Finish the other Two Parts, which must Consist of Particulars relating to the Doctrine and Government of the Church, God only knows: For in Order thereunto I must have Expended more Money than my mean Fortune will well bear, to purchase some Books which I have not by Me: But now by reason that I cannot Walk the same pace, which so many Men do, I fear I shall be Necessitated in a short time to Sell those few Books I have, to Buy my Children Bread; And in such a Condition a Man can have little Stomach, and less Opportunity or Leisure to Write Controversies. However, I think this may be sufficient amongst all sober Men, to Vindicate Me from the Shunders of some Black Mouth'd Persons, who Give a Reputation to the Roman Religion, by Representing all us Papists, or (which we find by Experience is worse) as Reputed Papists, or Popishly affected, who will not run into the same Excess of Riot with themselves. I pray God give them more Grace and Sobriety then to proceed in such Courses, and Me more Patience under such unjust Reproaches.

But my Comfort is this, that my Share is inconsiderable in respect of my Great Master's, or his true Follower St Paul, who underwent the full Trial of all those things, whereby he Teacher us to Approve our selves Ministers of God, amongst which I think I have some peculiar Interest in these, i. e. To have done it by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report, as a deceiver and yet true. (2 Cor. 6.8.) I never thought that Controversies were to be written for Controversies sake, but rather what in us lay to put an End to them; And I should not think my self unfortunate under all the Calumnies and Sufferings in the World, if I could be in the least Instrumental to Advance the Sincerity of Religion, and Promote the Peace of Gods Church: But if I may not be Capable of Endeavouring it to any purpose, I will never cease to pray for it; And therein I doubt not to have the Concurrence of all good Men, whatsoever otherwise may be their Perswasions; And thus Protesting my Integrity before God, and freely leaving my self to the Censure of all Men. I am

Yours in all Christian Offices, S. G.

*Sam<sup>l</sup>. Grascombe*

soon after  
writing  
this all  
his 3 Sons  
died in 3  
weeks time  
at Canterbury

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## ERRATA Sic Corrigenda.

**P**Age 12. line 17. for *paſte* read *paſt*. p. 25 l. 27. for *Their* r. *The*. p. 34. for *Lindhardus* r. *Luithardus*. p. 35 l. 2. *Luithardus* again for *Lindhardus*. p. 38. l. 1. for *Sciithia* r. *Sythia*. p. 42 l. 3. for *their* r. *theſe*. p. 44. for *Paſca* r. *Paſcha*. p. 46 l. 2. after *Answer* add *A*. p. 46. for *not* r. *no more which*. for *Pope* r. *Popes*. p. 47. for *on* r. *or*. p. 50. for *their* r. *theſe*. p. 52. for *ſchalcrotyas* r. *ſchalcrotyas*. p. 53. for *αρεσκουσιν, αρεσκων* r. *αρεσκουσιν, αρεσκον*. p. 55. after *true* add *it*. p. 56. for *this*. and for *Their* r. *Theſe*. p. 57. *in redundant* p. 59. l. 4. for *each* r. *ſuch*. p. ſee *redundat*. p. 62. for *praeſſerit* r. *praeſſerat*. p. 66. for *of God* r. *if good*. p. 70. l. 1. for *theſe* r. *theirs*. p. 71. for *Roinaniſts* r. *Romaniſts*. p. 73. for *the Work of a Chriſtian*, r. *the worſt Work of a Chriſtian* p. 74. for *ſee* r. *ſo*. p. 75. *ac praterca* *vidu* *erit* *redundat*. p. 83. for *ſhould* r. *could*. p. 87. for *us* r. *or*. p. 90. for *their* r. *theſe*. p. 95. for *quem* r. *quam*, and for *early* r. *wily*. p. 101. for *it*. r. *it*.

CHAP.



## C H A P. I.

*Of Obligations to Unity amongst Christians.*

I. **S**O Vehement and Implacable have been the Divisions amongst Christians, Managed not only with Tongue-shot, Disputations, and all manner of Calumnies and Reproaches, but even with base Arts, most bloody Wars, and barbarous and inhumane Cruelties, that it might move an Enemy of our Religion, yea, perhaps an inconsiderate Person amongst our selves, to think, that that saying of our Saviour, *I Come not to send Peace, but a Sword*, (Mat. 10. 34.) was not designed to forewarn his true Disciples of the Persecutions they are to expect from the wickedness of others, but rather to instruct and animate them in Quarrels, and to live as Cut-throats amongst one another; And whatever are their Pretences, yet by daily Experience we see, That this is too much the Practice of many, who are so devoted to their Factions, that they startle at the Name of Peace; And we have been told of some, whose Furious Raptures have Inspired them with such a blasphemous Impudence, as to affront God with their impious Prayers, *That he would Heighten and Increase the Divisions of the Church*. These and other such like Extravagancies have moved Me in the first place to Consider what Obligations to Unity Christians Lye under, for if they Lye under no such Obligations, it is most certain, That the Name of Schism can hardly be so much as a Theological Scare-crow; And they who keep such a Coil for Peace, will be found the greatest Violaters of it, as attempting to bring all Men to that which they are nothing bound to; But on the contrary, if there be such Obligations, then it is as certain, That all dividing and unquiet Persons do incur a Guilt proportionable to the Measure of their Proceedings, and the strength of those Obligations; And if it further Appear, That the Christian Religion doth lay the strongest Obligations to Unity upon all the Professors of it, Threatens the breach of it with the highest Penalties, Rewards the Observation of it with the utmost Advantages, and Affords the best Means and Helps to preserve it, then all that Own the Name of Christians must confess themselves to be indispensably and eternally bound to the Peace, so as to continue in it, and procure it upon any termes but that of Sin, with which no Peace is to be had; But though I propound this particular with this very design, That the General Concernment and Obligations of

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Christianity

Christianity might make Men bethink themselves, and abate their over-eager Propensions, and obstinate Adherence to their particular Parties; yet I shall be very brief, because (unless it be some Religious Madmen, whose Brains are heated with Enthusiasm beyond any Hope of Cure) even those, who are too Active and too Guilty in promoting Division, do yet upon any sober Discourse freely Acknowledge, That it is not only a good and a pleasant thing for Brethren to dwell together in Unity, but also that it is a duty incumbent upon every Christian in his Station, by all honest means to promote it, not only amongst his own party, but with all Others, who have Given up their Names to Christ; And I wish they were as serious in their Practice, as they are free in their Acknowledgments, and would not amongst themselves Teach some private Tencis to Ensure their Partizans, whilst they discourse at another Rate with those, whom they are too apt to Esteem their Adversaries.

II. And in the first place, If we Consider the Nature of the Christian Religion, what can be more evident, then that all its Principles and Doctrines, as they are most inseparably Knit together, and subservient to each other, so they tend to Effect and Confirm the strongest Unity amongst the Professors of it. Saint Paul, beseeching the Ephesians to Endeavor to Keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace, presseth them more particularly with this very Argument, *There is* (saith he, *Eph. 4. 4. &c.*) *one Body, and one Spirit, even as ye are Called in one Hope of your Calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all;* And in this Profession we have all Engaged our selves to be the faithful Servants of God and of Christ, and therefore ought joyntly to Serve the Interest, and Maintain the Honour of our Gracious and common Master: Nay, we not only hereby become Servants, but have the Honour of being Friends of Christ, Adopted Sons of God, and are taken into the same Family and Household; And of how heinous and insufferable a Crime they are Guilty, who are troublesome in this Family, and make Factions in this Household, we may Learn from that Saying of our Saviour, (*Matth. 3. 25.*) *If a House be divided against it self, that House cannot stand.*

III. But possibly it may deserve our particular Consideration, That the Holy Scriptures speak of all Christians as being incorporated into one Body, and that in such a manner, that the Hopes of our common Salvation depends upon our being Members of that one Body. Hence in relation to our first Admission or Infition, we are said to be *all Baptized into one Body*, and that *whether we be Jews or Gentiles, bond or free*, (*1 Cor. 12. 13.*) Hence also our progress and Growth in Christianity, is Attributed to that Nourishment, which as Members is Communicated to us by this Body, the Body it self being Fitly Framed and Joyned together, by all parts drawing it from Christ the Head,

(*Job.*



Eph. 4. 15, 16. Col. 2. 19.) Hence the Church of God is said to be his Body, (Col. 1. 24.) and this Church not to be many Bodies, but one, (Eph. 4. 4.) and that we might understand, That Salvation is not to be acquired, but by being Members of this Body; We are Taught, *That Christ Works our Salvation by Reconciling us into one Body*, (Eph. 2. 16.) And for this Reason the Apostle calls Him *The Head of the Church, and the Saviour of the Body*, (Eph. 5. 23.) from these and many other places of Scripture of the like Nature hath arose that common Axiom, *Extra Ecclesiam non est Salus*, Which the Ancient Fathers have upon occasion Excellently Explicated, pressed and proved against Schismatics; But I have no mind to make a Flourish with Citations in a matter so well known, though I wish it were better Heeded; Only before I pass away, I shall take the boldness to leave these Remarks. 1. *That all particular Christians, as Members of the same Body, are Reciprocally bound to each other, not only in the Common Offices of Justice, but even of Love, Kindness and Christian Succours; So that if the Man live in England or Armenia, at Rome or Geneva, in the Enemies Country or our own, if he be a Christian, I ought to wish and pray for his good, and if occasion be offered in no case to decline the Promoting the good of his Soul; And if Circumstances will permit, of his Body and Estate also.* Secondly, *That Christ's Church and his Body, being terms convertible, is must consist not only of the Present, but of the past Ages, even of all that either have or expect Salvation by Christ; So that no Person, by any Endeavors whatsoever can in the ordinary way duly hope for Salvation, as being a Member of this or that particular Church, otherwise then as that particular Church by a Succession of Doctrine and Worship, and consequently of Lawful Pastors and Governors, (without whom such Worship cannot be duly Performed) is united to, and Embodied with the Catholick Church of God: for even the present Church diffused over the Face of the whole Earth, though it may be said to be Catholick in respect of particular Churches, and of its Authority, as to the present living Persons, yet in it self it is not Catholick, otherwise then as deriving from, and united to the Church of the foregoing Ages, running up unto Christ their Head: Neither can any that comes after be accounted Catholick but as an accession to the former; And this if well Weighed might be a means to make Men very cautious how they gathered separate Bodies without extraordinary good Grounds.* Thirdly, *that though every Schismatick do affront and injure the whole Church of God, yet the greatest detriment is to himself. The Church may lose an unprofitable Member, but he loseth himself; For if Christ be only the Saviour of the Body, none can divide from it, without apparent hazard of their own Salvation. So dangerous a thing is the Sin of Schism, though so lightly esteemed in our dayes.*

IV. But here some, who are ready to catch at every Twig, and think themselves just drowning and lost, if they must be bound to live peaceably and to be wise only to Sobriety will Object, That such are the various apprehensions, inclinations, interests, education and prejudices of Mankind, That this Doctrine, as meeting with insuperable Difficulties, cannot be admitted with-

out very great Abatements and Allowances? To these I might justly Answer, That in this Case I am not concerned for their Prejudices, Interest, or any such Matters; And it were much better, if they were less concerned for 'um, themselves; for that Man that will be a Christian, must not follow his particular Inclinations and Interests, much less his Humours and Whimsey, or any thing of like Nature; but must abide by, and keep close to the Constitutions of his Saviour, and must cast down *Imagination, and every high thing that exalteth it self against the Knowledge of God, and bring into Captivity every thought to the Obedience of Christ*, (2 Cor. 10. 5.) But because I had rather Untie the Knot then cut it, I further Answer, That Opinions inconsistent with the Foundation of Faith, of a good Life, and a just Church Government and Discipline are never to be allowed; for these directly tend to the destruction of the Church, or our selves, or rather of both; but in things of remote consequence, or private and less Concernment, there *Unio Voluntarium, non Opinionum* is sufficient; we may severally opine as we see cause, provided that we severally resolve not to transgress the bounds of Charity; In this Case the Apostles Advice is, *To forbear one another in Love*, (Eph 4. 2.) and that the *strong should not despise the weak, nor the weak judge the strong*, (Rom. 14 3.) and to this purpose it is observable, That no Religion or Persuasion in the World ever Canonized Humility and Self-denial for Vertues; but the Christian, thereby taking care at once both to moderate the Judgement and the Practice; The One Teaching us, (to use the Apostles phrase) *in lowliness of Mind to Esteem others better then our selves, the other not to seek our own, but every Man anothers Wealth*. And by this means Men would not only be Restrained from Running to the utmost Bounds of what may seem lawful, but be careful to learn and do what is most expedient, whereby the Peace of the Church, and mutual love and kindness amongst its Members would be constantly preserved; Nor need our Men of Interest fear, that this Doctrine will undo them; For he, who like *Ishmael*, hath his Hand against every Man, will most certainly have every Mans Hand against him; so that there is odds in the Match, that one time or other he will come by the worst on't; But he, who by Christian Condescension in a Reasonable Cause denies himself, obligeth many others to do him the same kindness on the like occasion, whereby one favour to another procures many to himself; And were this principle duely practised, a man would not only be out of danger in all places, but should never want that Comfort, Succour and Assistance, which an honest Cause and Christian Deportment can expect. But suppose, (as indeed it is more then a Supposal) that others will not do their duty herein; yet he that Aims at an Heavenly Inheritance, should not take the Measures of his Proceedings from those, who value nothing above their worldly Interest; Nor ought he to think much to Meet with some Rubs in his way, when the Crown of Glory he pursues, exceeds all that he can imagine;

imagine; And let the worst bespooled that can be, Such a Man obligeth all that are good or grateful: He enjoys the present satisfaction of a good Conscience, and is so much before others in a more certain Hope of his future Bliss, as he is more true to his duty; whilst those that cast off all care of this duty, whatever they may have of the Name, have nothing of the Sincerity of Christians, and consequently are not to expect the Reward.

V. This Argument hath engaged me longer then I intended, and therefore what others I shall take Notice of, I shall little more then mention, and certainly that Man who understands and values his Religion, will be concerned for the Honour of it, which is by nothing more blasted (if not as to some wholly ruined) then by Contentions and Divisions: It is Reported of Socrates, that he particularly gave God Thanks for three Things, *Viz. That He was a Man, and not some other Creature, That he was born in Greece, the then most Civiliz'd Part of the World; And that he had his Education in Athens, the then most famous School of Philosophy in the World;* How much greater Cause have we with daily Thanks and Praises to Celebrate Gods Holy Name, by whose Blessing we are Christians, whereby we have not only an unerring Rule to walk by, but also from the Revelations and Promises of the God of Truth, and by the Earnest and Pledge of his Sons Resurrection and Ascension, are assured of that Immortality and those future Joys, which that wise Heathen only blindly Grop'd after? But can we think to persuade others of the truth of this, by living unspeakably worse then they, who could pretend to no such advantages? Or if this be true, then do not we by our Divisions raise a great Scandal and Prejudice against such glorious Truth: We Boast, That Ours is the best Religion in the World; Nay more, and that truly, That Ours is the only true Religion in the World. for there is Salvation in no Other, nor any other Name Given under Heaven whereby we must be saved, but that of the blessed Jesus, (*Acts 4. 12.*) And I can still remember, That when I was a Youth, I have heard plausible Harangues in Sermons, and doleful Petitions in Prayers, about them who sat in darkness, and in the Regions of the Shadow of Death; And doubtless, as the Case of the one was Lamentable, so the Zeal of the other was so far Commendable; But when I Consider, that those Men had destroyed the Mother that bore them, and thought the Gospel was no further Advanced then their Schism was propagated; I cannot but wonder, with what Confidence a parcel of Seditious Rebellious Schismatics could think themselves the only Fit Men to bear the Light, to Conduct those that lay in darkness into the bright Sun-shine of the Gospel; But as I have heard little of their Endeavors, so less of their Success; neither ought any in reason to hope for much better, who are studious to promote Divisions; For suppose a discreet Heathen should come amongst us, and observe how one Church Anathematizeth another, how every Party pre- tends

tends it self to be in the right, and as peremptorily condemns all others to be in the wrong, and what Multitudes of Divisions there are amongst us, would not this be a strong temptation to Him to be of that Religion, which they could not agree in themselves? But when he should further see the open violence and unusual Mischiefs which the Divisions in all places produce, he would surely Resolve with himself, of all others to Fly that Religion; for when all's done, let us say what we can, Men will believe what we do, Mens Words and Actions are often too far asunder; But they generally Act what they really think, and therefore most persons think it safer (where they can) to judge of Men by their Actions rather than their Sayings, as being surer Indices of their Minds, and having a closer Correspondence with their Hearts and Designs, so that if they see Christians to be of a froward perverse Conversation, they will judge no better of their Religion; So great Reason we may see had the Apostle to give us in Charge, *to Walk in Wisdom towards them that are without*, (Col. 4. 5.) The Result of this Consideration briefly amounts to thus much, That Divisions not only produce many foul Irregularities, and inexcusable Enormities amongst our selves; but also misrepresent and scandalize our Religion, so as rather to affright others from it, then allure them to it; by which means the Practice of Christians is debauched, the Propagation of the Gospel hindered, the Truth as unjustly as highly dishonoured, and the whole design of Christianity in a manner frustrated. And if any Man be so in love with Schism, as to think this a small Crime, or so blind as not to see it; I scarce know what I can do more for him, except to pray to God to open his Eyes, and turn his Heart.

VI. And yet there is still something further, and very considerable, to be offered in this Case; for nothing is more directly binding then a Precept; and nothing more strongly binding then a Precept from him, who hath the whole Propriety in us, and absolute Sovereignty over us. So that if the God of all Power, who hath Created us, and his Son Jesus Christ, to whom he hath Given all Power, have expressly required this Unity, then the indispensableness of the duty on our part can be no longer a dispute, nor can this be a doubt to any, who have but lightly perused the Holy Scriptures; for though it may be enough to any Considerate Person, That the whole Current of Scripture bears against all Disorderliness, Unruliness and Unquietness; yet that our Mouths might be for ever stopped, the thing it self is Commanded in as plain and express terms, as can be desired. Thus St. Paul, (2 Cor. 13. 1.) *Be of one Mind, live in Peace.* Thus St. Peter, (1 Pet. 3. 8.) *Be ye all of one Mind.* And that we might know, that this Unity must be as well in Practice as in Judgement, we are Commanded as well to walk by the same Rule, as to Mind the same thing, (Phil. 3. 16.) And St. Paul takes not a little pains to explain the necessary duty of every Member of Christ, in walking orderly in their

their several stations, to this end, That there should be no Schism in the Body, (1 Cor. 12. 25,) I could heap up many more Testimonies, but I think it needless, for any one ought to be enough to him, who owns the Holy Scriptures to be stamp'd with the Authority of Heaven, and to contain what is the Will of God, that we should believe and do: And if a Word, a Nod, a Beck from a Master, shall command or direct a Servant at his pleasure, can we think not only to neglect, but to bid open Defiance to the Commands of the Almighty, and be guiltless or 'scape Scot-free? The Sin in violating any Command is always so much the greater, by how much the greater is the Authority of the Person Commanding; from whence we may learn how great a Sin is the Violation of that Christian Unity, which is Commanded by the Almighty Maker of Heaven and Earth.

VII. But still we are further informed, of how great Moment this duty is from the rewards and punishments, that attend the performance or violation of it; The Breach of Unity is itself no small punishment, for Divisions naturally create Disturbances, increase troubles, and tend towards destruction. Hence St. Paul gives us this Caution, (Gal. 5. 15.) *If ye Bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not Consumed one of another.* So that the Advantages which flow from Unity, and the Mischiefs which arise from the contrary, are sufficient Motives to any Man, who minds his own good, to follow those things which make for Peace. But least this should not be enough, all that further can affright us from evil, is added; And no less then eternal Damnation is made the portion of Transgressors in this kind; For St. Paul telling us what are the Works of the Flesh, which they that do shall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven; Amongst them reckons these, *Hatred, Variance, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Heresies, Envyings,* (Gal 5. 20.) And the same Apostle tells us, *That if any Man did but seem to be Contentious, they had no such Custom, neither the Churches of God,* (1 Cor. 11. 16.) By which he seems to me to intimate, That such Persons do cast themselves out of the Church; and consequently exclude themselves from the Hopes of Salvation; But that we may not Complain of being Affrighted into Goodness, and terrified to our Duty, the punishment of the Violation of this Duty is not so great, but the Reward of its due performance is every way equal; And besides those Comforts that are naturally contained in it, and flow from it, there is no less then eternal Happiness entailed on it. Christ himself hath declared, *That Blessed are the Peace-Makers, for they shall be Called the Children of God,* (Mat. 5. 9) And if so, then certainly they shall have a portion and inheritance with the rest of his Children, and be fellow-Heires with Christ.

VIII. Now if all these Considerations were put together and well weighed, methinks no difficulties whatsoever should be able to deter or remove us from our duties, or to hinder us from standing fast in one Spirit, with one Mind,



Mind, striving together for the Faith of the Gospel; For to Him that professeth Himself a Christian, and believeth what he professeth, what can all the Allurements and Temptations, all the Joyes, Troubles or Torments of this transitory Life Work, when set against the pains of Hell on the one Hand, and the Joyes of Heaven on the other? and yet even this pretence is taken away; And that we may not with any Shew of Reason plead any discouragements, we are assured that God will supply us with Strength and Succours in our faithful Endeavours, that so far as concerns us, we shall be able to overcome all difficulties, and discharge our Duties; And the difference is not much, whether there be no difficulties, or the difficulties be Conquerable; an idle sluggish Person perhaps would desire the former, but he that is content to take pains for Heaven, and had rather exercise and Varnish his Graces, then suffer them through disuse to be sullied and weakned, possibly will think the latter more expedient for him. I do not say, that we shall be furnished with abilities to reduce all others, but that unless by our own default we shall not want Assistance to secure our selves; And then whatever the difficulties may really be or appear, we can have no just cause of Discouragement; And I know not what greater Comfort or Encouragement to this Duty could be given us, then what St. Paul tells us, (2 Cor. 13.11.) *Be of one Mind, live in Peace, and the God of Love and Peace shall be with you.*

## CHAP. II.

### *Wherein this Unity Consists.*

- I. **T**His Unity is a Thing that sounds bravely in the Eares of all Persons, and Meets with a General Applause and high Commendation in all Places; And indeed it cannot Receive more Praises then it deserves; but when we come seriously and closely to consider what it is, and wherein it consists; When we think to grasp it, it Vanisheth, and we fall foully together by the Eares about the Unity we joyntly Extol, and make it self the occasion of our losing it; the great Reason of which is apparently this, That when Men have fallen in love with some singular way, and set up their Rest in some dividing Principles, they do not fetch the Nature of Unity from the full Precepts of the Gospel, which best Teach it, and the Practice of the Primitive Church which best Explains it, but Catching some Shreds of Scripture for pretence, they frame such a Notion of Unity as may suit with their own Scheme, and rather then quit any of their darling Errours, they will undertake to Wash a Blackmore white, I mean, to find out such a Unity as shall be consistent with Division and Separation; But it is pity to fall out about  
Unity;

Unity, and therefore leaving such to their vain Imaginations, I shall discover my own Apprehensions, wherein I think it Consists: And if I fail in any part, I shall be highly obliged to that person, who shall bring Me to a clearer and fuller Understanding of its Nature; for certainly did we better understand what it was, we should come nearer together, and better concur in the Observation and Practice of it.

II. But before I can proceed, I must for my own Security, enter a *Caveat* against the Pretences of extraordinary Cases; And therefore do tell my Reader, that I shall limit my Discourse to Gods ordinary Way and standing Establishment, to which all Persons ought to have Regard. I will not here concern my self upon what terms he may stand, who is fast Lock'd in a Dungeon, or cast upon an uninhabited Coast, or made a Slave amongst Infidels, or Lies Concealed in a Cave for fear of his Life, or any of the like Nature; I make no doubt, but that for extraordinary Cases God hath extraordinary Mercies; but then this is not Applicable to what is common or ordinary: There can be nothing more perverse and unnatural, then to judge of the stated Case of Things by the Exceptions from it; Or to Confound the common Condition of Mankind with that, which is rarely and only at some times the sad Misfortune of some few; And it is not possible to Guess, whether those Mens Errours will lead them, who in stead of observing what are the Exceptions from a General Rule, do frame to themselves a General Rule from exempt Cases, and so overthrow the common Standard; And I must Confess, that I have not been a little scandaliz'd, to find this very thing done in a great Measure, by Men otherwise of Eminence, Learning and Piety.

III. Now though this Christian Unity be a Harmony of many parts, many of which must concur to make it true, and all ought to meet to make it Compleat; The first Bond in this Common Tye, or that from whence it takes its first Rise and Beginning, is that Faith which was once delivered to the Saints; And he that doth unfeignedly embrace it, is so far forth united both to all those, who ever heretofore received it; And all those, who now live in Profession of it; But yet we must go a great way further, or else we shall come short Home.

IV. For though this Unity principally relates to the Catholick Church of God, Comprehending all Ages and places, which is that Body, whereof Christ is the Saviour, and to whom the great and precious Promises are primarily made; yet if we would speak rather of fully then magnificently, we are not so much to Consider in this Case the Church we are united to, as the means whereby we are united to it, and therefore as Men on Earth we are to consider our selves in *status viatorum*, as Men that are not only bound to believe, but to profess the Faith of Christ Crucified, (for our Blessed Saviour hath told us, *That if we be Ashamed of Him and his Words, He will be Ashamed of us, when He*

*cometh into the Glory of his Father, Mark 8.38.)* as Men so indispenseably bound to that Profession, that they must not only hazard, but even Actually lose all that is near and dear to them, rather then depart from it, (for the same Christ hath told us, *That if a Man come to him, and hate not Father and Mother, and Wife, and Children, and Brethren, and Sisters, yea, and his own Life also, he cannot be his Disciple, Luke 24.26.*) as Men, who are bound to embody in a common Fraternity and Society, that they may joyntly as well as openly make this Profession, *not forsaking the Assembling of our selves together, as the manner of some is, (as the Apostle teacheth, Heb. 10. 25.)* In a word, seeing we here live in expectation of the Promises, we must submit to all the termes and conditions of the Covenant, upon which God hath made their Performance to depend; And being the whole tenure of the Gospel, doth oblige us on Earth to joy in a visible Fraternity, to a visible Profession, to particular duties to visible Professors, and to a real not imaginary Obedience to them, who Rule over us and Watch for our Souls; I see not how we can Challenge the Name of Christians, whilst we cast off all Care of these Duties. And hence it is Apparent, That we cannot be United to that great Catholick, Mystical and Invisible Church of God, but by becoming Members of his visible Church on Earth, as being that part of his Church, wherein he hath placed, and to which the greatest part of our Duties do particularly Relate. To Arrive to the state of Glorified Saints and Angels, that Church without Spot or Wrinkle is our Hope and Endeavour; But whilst we are on Earth, we are only on our Way towards it, and are particularly of that part of Gods Church, wherein grow Tares as well as Wheat, to be distinguished and separated in Gods good time: And by our faithful sincere Obedience in this, we do through Christ Jesus Require and Preserve a Right and Title in time, to be made the immediate Members of the other.

V. This being our present state and condition, our Unity ought certainly to be agreeable and suitable to it, and therefore must be visible amongst the visible Professors of the Gospel; and what that is, or wherein it consists, is my present Business to describe: But first from the foregoing Premises I would make this Inference, That a Believer at large is only a Christian in *Fieri*, his Faith alone without the other Duties and Accomplishments, which the Gospel prescribes to all Christians, is not sufficient to give him the full Title of a Christian; 'Tis true, he hath laid a good Foundation, but unless he proceed to build thereon, he can no more be said to be a Christian, then an Artificer can be said to have Erected a fair House, when he hath only laid the Ground-Work; And the Reason is plain, because Faith in its own Nature doth not only incline, but oblige to Obedience; And I therefore not only more chearfully Obey Gods Commands, because I believe Him faithful who hath promised, but I must condemn my self as utterly inexcusable, if I disobey Him

Him



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Him at the same time, that I pretend to believe in Him. Hence it is observable, That the word Faith taken Objectively, is often in Scripture-phrase used to Signifie not only Revealed Truths, but Precepts of Life, even the whole Gospel of Christ Jesus, or the Law of Faith; And where it speaks distinctly of it, yet it will have the other to follow it, Commanding us *to add to our Faith Vertue*, (2 Pet. 1. 5.) *And to Shew our Faith by our Works* (Jam. 2. 8.) And accordingly the first Converts to Christianity, upon their Owning the Faith, thought themselves Obligated to go on to what the Law of Faith Required. Thus the Eunuch, when Convinced by *Philip*, that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, doth not Acquiesce in that Faith, but proceeds as far as his present Circumstances would permit, and of his own Accord bespeaks *Philip*, *See, here is Water, what doth hinder me to be Baptized?* (Acts 8. 36.) And consonantly, hereto it is Observable, That the primitive Church did Vouchsafe the Title of *Fideles* to no Adult Persons, but such as were in full Communion; And did Men perswade themselves that their Faith did so indispenseably oblige them to all Christian Duties, that without their sincere Endeavour even Faith it self became defective, it would make a fair Advance towards Unity; And till they do so, I see no Reason to hope for it.

VI. But now to Return to the thing in Hand, As we are Men on Earth, and Probationers for Heaven, our Unity must be such as is Required by this our state, and consequently must consist in such matters as Unites all the visible Professors of the Gospel into such a Body or Society, which God hath instituted and designed for his Worship on Earth; But then we are to Consider, That as we are United to the Catholick invisible Church of God, by being United to his visible Catholick Church on Earth, so we are United to this visible Catholick Church, by being United to some true part of it, or by becoming Members of some particular Church; for no Member can be United to the Body all over, or to the whole immediately, but is United to the Body by being United to it in some part, *For the Body is not one Member, but many*, (1 Cor. 12. 14.) And as these fitly Framed altogether make the whole, so by Vertue of this Union each Member hath a Communication with the Whole. and is both capacitated to discharge his Duty to the Whole, and to Receive Supplies from, and claim an Interest in the Whole.

VII. Now, being that our Belief in the Son of God, and that he is the Head of the Body his Church, (if considered Antecedently to, and separately from other Christian Duties) doth rather capacitate us to become Christians, then denominate us so, it will follow, That to have the benefit of our Belief, we must take care to be Admitted into that Body, which it qualifies us to be Members of. Now in all manner of Societies, of what Nature soever, Members are Admitted by some Signal Ceremony, and

known Form of Proceedings, that thereby they may be known to Others to be Members of that Society, and may undisturbedly do the Exercises and enjoy the Priviledges of that Society. Now this Formal Way of Admission into the Christian Body or Society, is by the Sacrament of Baptism; And that even by our Saviours own Command and Institution; for when they are so well Instructed as to believe, he will have them Received by being Baptized; *Go ye, (saith he, Mat. 28. 19.) Teach all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name, &c.* And though Unbelief alone be sufficient to put a Man into a state of Censure; yet Belief alone without Baptism doth not ordinarily put a Man into the state of Salvation. This is our Saviours own Doctrine, (*Mark 16. 16.*) *He that believeth and is Baptized, shall be saved; And he that believeth not shall be damned.* And the Reason is plain; for though Unbelief, as rejecting the Covenant of Grace, and its Author, is alone able to exclude us from all benefit of it; yet Belief, though it lay hold on the Covenant, is not able alone to secure to us the benefits of it, if considered abstractedly and separately from the other necessary Conditions of it; for he that expects the benefit of a part, must observe not one, but all the necessary termes and conditions of it; from hence it may appear, how necessary it is, that we be all Partakers of that one Baptism; And this Consideration ought to Alarm those Persons to examine well the Grounds whereon they proceed, who separate from all other Christians, making it the singular part of their Religion to deny Baptism, even to the Children of Christian Parents, for though God is not bound up to withhold his Mercy, where the default is not in the Persons themselves; yet we have no certain Rule to assure us, that he will afford such Mercy out of the way, that he hath prescribed; but it is purely in his good pleasure; And if Baptism be ordinarily the Way of Admission and Entrance into that Body, whereof Christ is the Saviour; then such Persons, by denying them Baptism, do what in them lies to damn them, which doubtless is a very unchristian part. And though it be true in relation to Persons out of the Covenant, that they must first be qualified not only with an actual but a professed Faith, without which they are not capable of Admission; yet in reference to Persons in Covenant the Case is quite otherwise, for the Covenant is not to them alone, but to their Seed; And the Children being sanctified in their Parents do follow their condition, and are born to Priviledges in the Church, which those without cannot claim; And therefore ought not particularly to be denied this, without which they are not by the ordinary Laws of the Covenant, Entitled to the Rest. But I will prosecute this no further, my business being rather with Adult Persons than Children. For though their Salvation is by being of the Body, yet they have small Influence on Christian Communion; and until they lose that Name are scarce able to disturb or break the Unity of the Church, which is the thing I am to Explain.

VIII. The Parts of our Christian Unity are so close Knit together, that they seem to Lead Us by the Hand from the one to the other; so that it may seem somewhat a wonder how Persons should for the Generality be so wofully mistaken about them; For having thus laid the Foundation of Faith, and being Actually Admitted by the Sacrament of Baptism, it will (I suppose) be easily Agreed on all Hands, That Persons are not only Admitted to the Priviledges and Benefits of the Society, but come under an Obligation to observe the Laws and do the Duties of the Society; for no Society whatsoever, whether Sacred or Civil, ever admitted any to their Priviledges, without Tying them up to their Rules; 'Tis true, that in some Societies there are certain Honorary or Titular Members; but it is indeed only a Title: For where they are excepted from duty, they are excluded from benefit: But this is peculiar to the Christian Religion, that it admits none such; but whoever doth become a Member professing it, must fall under an Obligation to perform the Duties it requires; And by this we may perceive what further Progress our Christian Unity must make; for we must be United in the Consent, Profession and Practice of all those things, which according to our several stations in that Society the Laws of Christianity do require from us. Now these may have relation either to particular Christians, or to them as embodied in particular Societies, or to them considered under the Notion of Subjects and Governours; Or lastly, to the Duty and Behaviour of Governours towards each other.

IX. Every particular Christian is bound to the Sincere and constant Profession and Exercise of all those Christian Duties, which the Gospel requires of every one in their single Capacities, as Humility, Sobriety, Temperance, Patience, and the like; And their Concurrence in, and due Observance of these things, is not only very profitable and Comfortable to Themselves, but very Honourable to their Society; But above all we are Commanded *to Pursue on Charity*, (Col. 3. 14.) and that not only for this Reason, that it Virtually contains, and in its own Nature directs and provokes to the Practice of all other Christian Duties, on which Account the Apostle in the following words styles it *συνεχισμός της τελειότητος*, but also because our Saviour himself hath made it the Character and Badge of his Followers. For (saith he, *John 13. 35.*) *By this shall all Men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye have Love one to another.*

X. But here it is to be Considered, that these Vertues of particular Christians have been, and may be so fairly Copied out, and handsomely Exercised by Heathens and Unbelievers, that to outward Appearance the one cannot be distinguished from the other; And though the Vertues of Christians are really distinguishable from the like in Heathens from their Principles and Ends, yet these Principles and Ends are things in themselves not seen; And therefore

therefore that those Vertues may appear to proceed from such Christian Principles and Ends, they must be practised in Conjunction with such other Duties, as do apparently Testifie what Principles we own; And that Charity it self may be a Mark of Christs Disciples, it must carry them on to those Exercises, which he hath Commanded his Worshippers to joyn in. Now this cannot be done only by separate well living, but by joyning in that Worship and Christian Communion, which the Laws of Christ, and the Nature of that Church or Society he hath Instituted, doth Require; And in these we do most clearly own and profess our selves Christians, and visibly unite in the Body; And from hence it will follow, that all Christians, under the penalty of excluding themselves from this Body, are bound to joyn in all the publick Offices of the Church, and to bear their part in all Acts and Duties of Christian Communion, and therefore Attendance to Ordinances is not only the benefit, but the necessary duty of every Christian; And as Members of the Society they must do their parts, joyning in the publick Prayers, Praises, Thanksgivings, Confessions, and the like; And especially ought to be careful to be duely partakers of the Lords Supper, as being that Act whereby of all others, we are most strongly, firmly and closely united both to Christ our Head, and to each other. Hence it is by way of Eminence, sometimes called, *The Communion*; And hence it is, That amongst the primitive Christians, though a Man had openly professed the Christian Faith, had been admitted by Baptism, was not only an Auditor, but does Communicate in the Prayers of the Church, yet they did not Account him completely a Christian, till he did partake of the Lords Table; And there is the same Reason for this still, and perhaps greater Reason now then ever to urge it, when the most weighty Duties are most neglected, and People are so apt to set up their Rest far short of what our blessed Saviour hath made their Duties.

XI. That this Communion is maintained by, Communicating with that particular Christian Church, being neither Heretical nor Schismatical, where every Christian lives, seems to me out of doubt; For if he do not Communicate there, it is not possible he should actually Communicate any where else, and therefore whatsoever Preparations of Mind may be pretended, the wilful or careless neglect of this, seems to Amount to no less then a Renunciation or Undervaluing of all Communion, which strikes at the very Heart of the Christian Religion. But yet for all this our Communion in that particular Church is Communion with the whole, whereof that is a part, by which we are United to the whole, in which we express our Communion with the whole, and by which we draw Supplies from the whole; For our Communion in particular Churches Arises from the Necessity of our Natures, and the Condition of Humane Beings, which are not capable of Communicating with the whole altogether, but only by parts: And though

though particular Churches in respect of particular Christians, and the Offices and Authority therein Exercised are truly called Churches, yet in respect of the Catholick Church they are but Members, whereby we are United to the whole, and Communicate with the whole; Both the Name and Benefit of Christianity comes to us from joyning in Communion with that Church, which is Christs Body: And that is the Catholick Church, and it is to that we desire to be United, and in that to Communicate by joyning with some true part of it, which is all our Natures allow us to do, and in Act can Compass; But if any Man Unite himself to, or joyn in Communion with any particular Church, either in opposition to all others, or without any relation or obligation to any other Church; As to Catholick Communion, he must suppose that particular Church to be that Body, whereof Christ is the Head and Saviour, or else he cannot Hope for Salvation in it and then (unless he have the Impudence to affirm, that there is no other true Church of God) he must make Christ have more Bodies then one, and in the immediate consequence overthrow an Article of our Creed, which acknowledgeth but One Catholick Church. Our Communion therefore, though in a particular, yet by means thereof is both in and with the Catholick Church; And hence it is, that the Members of particular Churches, have an equal Right all the World over to Communion in all other Christian Churches; And when they come to other Churches, are then actually bound to Communicate with them; Upon this Ground it was, that the primitive Christians proceeded; for though they did debar Strangers from Communion, till they did produce their Communicatory Letters or Credentials, whereby it might appear, that they lived in some particular Church of Catholick Communion, (that they might not be imposed upon by Hereticks and Schismatics) yet when the Church they came to was satisfied in that particular, they were not only acknowledged to have the same right with their own Members, but also to lie under the same Obligations; And if very satisfactory Reasons were not given of their forbearance, if they did not then actually Communicate they were Treated as Schismatics, so that that Schismatical Distinction of such an Occasional Communion as leaves Men at liberty where and when to Communicate, and that even in separate and opposite Communions, was altogether unknown to the primitive Church, or if it had been started, would never have been endured.

XII. From what hath been said it may Appear, That in the Practical Notion, Unity, Uniformity and Communion, are words much of the same Importance; The two latter only more clearly Explaining the Nature and Manner of the former; And if it be true, that our Unity consists in our Communion in the Solemn Acts of Worship, and publick Offices and Duties

of



the Christian Church, it will then unavoidably follow, that we must be united, and firmly adhere to the True and Lawful Pastors of the Church, without whom those Offices cannot be Lawfully discharged, and for want of whose Support and Ministry the Solemn Worship and daily Sacrifice would fail; And the greater Reason have all Christians to take Heed to this good Order of Men; both because our Saviour hath Invested them with his own Authority, so far forth as is necessary for the Officiating in, and Governing of his Church, and also because he hath made them a special Promise of his Assistance in the discharge of their Offices: in Relation to the first he thus Commissionates his Disciples, *As my Father hath sent Me, even so send I You,* (John 20.21.) In Respect to the latter he hath said, *I am with you alway, even unto the End of the World,* (Matt 28.20.) So that if not under the Law, much less under the Gospel may any Man take this Honour to himself, but he that is Cased of God; And he that intrudes into this Office, without a derivation of just Authority, comes not in by the Door, but climbs up another way; And for that Reason ought to be Esteemed a Thief and a Robber. This Authority of theirs is indeed of a spiritual Nature; They have no power of Coercion, they cannot by force lay a Restraint upon any Mans Person; but yet their Authority is real, and in some sense higher then theirs, who by Gods Commission carry the Temporal Sword for the terrour of evil-Doers, and Defence of those who do well. For the same God who gave Authority to the Pastors of his Church, hath Commanded the people to obey them, (Heb. 13. 17.) And doth interpret the disobedience or neglect of them to be an Affront to Himself. For thus our Saviour Teacheth us, (Luke 10. 16.) *He that heareth you, heareth me; And he that despiseth you, despiseth me; And he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me:* And therefore, though such Despisers may not seem to suffer any thing here, yet they stand Accountable to a higher Tribunal, and do run a greater hazard then any temporal punishment; when their Cause is forejudged by their Spiritual Governours. Hence, saith Tertullian, (Apol.) *Summum futuri Judicii Prajudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut à Communionis Orationis, & Conventû, & Omnis Sancti Commerciis Religetur.* The Wickedness indeed of Spiritual Governours is of very dangerous Consequence, the Influence of it makes many bad, and will not suffer others to be so good as they would: And as we read, that the Lewdness of Eli's Sons, made the People even to Abhor the Offering of the Lord; So by Moses Law the Offering for the Sin of the Priest was the same as the Offering for the Sin of the whole People, and much exceeded the Offering for the Sin of the Civil Ruler. (Levit. 4.) It is sad with Gods Church when the Complaint lies at that Door: But yet even this will not Absolve Christians from their Obedience to them, in Matters which are within the just Bounds of their Authority, and properly belong to their Office: Even our Saviour himself, who

who so often warns his disciples to *Beware of the Leaven of the Pharisees*; yet Commands them to obey the same Men, so far soith as they satt in *Moses Chair*; And doubtless he doth not Require less Observance of those who Sit in his own Chair; And though People are very apt to begin the Quarrel here, yet methinks they should be more fearful of breaking Communion with their Pastors, if they did Consider, That this is the Door, by which always Schism enters; for it is not Conceivable how they should forsake Christian Communion, but by deserting their Pastors in their Pastoral Office. Hence the Fathers, (especially *St. Cyprian*, then whom no man better understood or wrote of this Case upon all Occasions) as they usually describe a particular Church by the Union of the Flock to their Pastor, so they define Schism by a Separation from the Bishop; Not that they meant it is no more, but that that is the Act which makes the Schismatick; and that by leaving his proper Bishop, he forsakes not only the Communion of that particular Church, but of all other Churches, of whose Communion that Bishop is; And Consequently the Communion of the Catholick Church, if he be truly a Catholick Bishop; And hence I think it may Appear, that for Maintaining Christian Communion in Christs Body, the People must be United to their Pastors, and that not only with Respect to Preaching the Word, publick Prayers and the Use of the Sacraments, but also with Regard to Matters of Discipline and Government, without which Order and Regular Proceedings in the Church, it cannot be upheld. Upon this Score the primitive Christians were so Observant of the Rules, Orders and Censures of their Bishop, That if any Man fell under the Sentence of Excommunication, they for so much as Related to them, vigorously put it in Execution, and not only would not suffer such a One to joyn in Communion, but would not so much as Eat, Drink, Couversé, or ordinarily Traffick with Him; Which Practice seems to have had its Foundation from that of *St. Paul*, (2 Thes. 3. 14.) *If any Man obey not our Word by this Epistle, Note that Man, and have no Company with him, that he may be Ashamed.* As also from that, (1 Cor. 5. 11.) *Now I have written unto you, not to keep Company, if any Man that is called a Brother be a Fornicator, or Covetous, or an Idolater, or a Railer, or a Drunkard, or an Extortioner, with such an One, No, not to Eat.*

XIII. But that a Firm Christian Unity may be in the Church of God, it is not sufficient, that the Flock continue in a due Subjection to, and steddy Communion with their Pastor, unless the Pastors themselves Maintain a fair Correspondence, and keep due Order one amoungst another, *For if the Trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall Prepare himself to the Battel?* (as the Apostle saith, 1 Cor. 14. 8.) how is it possible, that an Army should be Unanimous in it self, or Employ its full force against the Enemy, if the Commanders Agree not, but give out contrary Orders? Nor is it possible, That the Unity of the

Church should be preserved, if the Pastors Govern their Flocks, not in Conjunction, but Opposition to each other, and set up such termes of Communion, as other Churches cannot approve, but must withdraw from; It is indeed true, That every Bishop in his particular Church, hath a kind of Sovereign Authority, and is to Govern his Flock *Rationem Actus, sui Domino rediturus*, (as St. Cyprian more then once phraseth it,) Hence it is, That in some things a Christian Man is bound to Observe the Orders of his own Church, and obey his own Bishop, before any, if not all the Bishops in the Christian World; But then, this Authority must not be stretch'd beyond the Bounds of his own particular Church; And hence arose those several different and often contrary Usages and Customs in several Churches, which were not excepted against, because they belonged to the Power of each particular Church, and consisted in such things, That he that Communicated after the one Manner in one Church, might Lawfully Communicate after the contrary in another. Of this Nature was that known different Usage of old, between the Churches of *Rome* and *Millan*; In the former they Fasted on Saturdays, in the latter not. And therefore St. Ambrose, who was truly as stout a Bishop as ever the Church had, though he strictly Required Obedience to the Orders of his own Church, yet at *Rome* was as Observant of theirs, and Advised St. Augustine's Mother *Monica* to do the same. The Reason must be fetch'd from the Nature of the Things, which being indifferent in themselves, might be Lawfully practis'd either Way, and therefore were in the Power of every Church to determine or not determine, as She found most for her good and Advantage; But when these Things are determined, Obedience put on the Nature of Duty, and Disobedience of Sin: But though every Bishop, in Respect of his particular Church or Flock, hath (according to the Old Ecclesiastical Language) his Throne, yet in Relation to the Catholick Church he is but a principal Member, who in Conjunction with Others of the same Authority is to Share in care of the whole; And therefore in Matters which have an Influence on Catholick Communion, he is Accountable to his Colleagues or Fellow Bishops, and for any Misdemeanour herein may by them be Suspended, Deposed or Censured, as they or a convenient part of them shall judge Meet, for the preservation of the Churches Peace. And in this Case the Bishops of other Churches did not only Exhort, but Require both the subordinate Clergy and the People to Refuse Communion with their Bishop, though in all other Cases the separating from the Communion of their Bishops, and the Erecting another Altar, or setting up a Conventicle against him, was Accounted the peculiar Signature of Schism. And the Reason is plain, for though they could not hold Communion with the Church, but by Maintaining Communion with their Bishop, yet they did Communicate in that Church as a part of the whole; And if he did break off from the whole,



or was Injurious to the whole, if they should Adhere to him therein, they must follow his Fate; And therefore here they might desert him, and cleave to some other sound part, and joyn in Communion Approved by Orthodox Bishops. The Reason of the Bishops absolute Power in one respect, and his Subjection in another, seems to be briefly Couched in that short Saying of St. Cyprian, *Episcopatus unus est, cuius à singulis in solidum pars tenetur. (de un.)* for though he held but part of that Episcopacy, by which the whole Church (*Concordi multorum Episcoporum numerositate*) was Governed; yet holding that *Parte in solidum*, he had the full Episcopal Authority, and was a Catholick Bishop, and his Orders according to their Nature ought to be Heeded by all Bishops: But then what he held *in solidum*, being but *Pars Episcopatus unius*, he was Bound to Exercise his Office in Conjunction with them, who were equal Sharers with him; And herein was Answerable to his Fellow-Bishops for any detriment or injury done by him to their Common Office and Common Charge. Hence a Bishop was in some things Obnoxious, even to the delebility and loss of his Character, (as Spalato hath proved against the fond device of the Schools *lib. 2. cap. 4.*) and was bound at his peril, not only to Preach the same Faith, but to Walk and Act according to the Cannons of the Church; And yet in other Things, his Act was sufficient to Tye up all the Bishops in the Christian World; Both which things are an invincible Evidence of the Sense of Antiquity, of their Participation of the same Office, and of their Obligation to, and dependance upon each other in the discharge of it. Hence it was, that when a Bishop was placed in any Vacant See, though he was never so Canonically Ordained, yet he was bound to send abroad his Circular Epistles to other Bishops, to Signifie his due Admission to that great dignity, and withal to give in a Summary of his Faith, that they might Admit him to Catholick Communion, and upon occasion might Communicate with him, and Assist him in the just discharge of his place: If he afterwards fell into Heresie, or did any irregular Act, he was Tryable by his Peers, and might be Censured according to his demerits. On the other Hand, what wholesome Orders he made for the good of his own particular Church, those, who came from any other Church thither, were bound to observe them; And if he justly put any Person under the Sentence of Excommunication, upon his Certifying thereof with the Cause, all other Bishops and all other Churches were bound to take that Person for Excommunicate, wherever he came, and to Reject him from their Communion; For in Cases of this Nature, every Regular Act of Authority in one Church, was Regarded as the Act of the whole Church; And thus in all things particular Churches Acted in Relation to, and Communion with the Catholick, and Maintained their Unity Firm and Inviolable.

XIV. My Design hath been to Write a Chapter, not a Treatise of Christian Unity, and therefore I may be excuseable, if I have not Hit every thing, though I perswade my self, that had we these, the rest would not be wanting; But my fear is, that my Accusation will rather Lye on the other Hand, That I have laid the Platform of such a Unity as in all its parts is no where on Earth to be found; And though the more is the pity, yet possibly it is too true: But then this Objection Amounts to no more (though that, God knows, is too much) then to shew the deplorable state of the Church, and the woful degeneracy of Christians; For the Religion we profess Requires such an Unity; And *de facto* it has been had and practised in the Church; And till it be Restored, I see little Hopes that Matters can be brought to Rights, and that they are not, they must Answer who are the true Cause: If any enquire, What particular Persons in this Case are to do? I Answer, that invincible Impediments may excuse *à tanto* but not *à toto*, where we cannot do all we should, yet we must do all we can: But more particularly, I think, *First*, That every Man ought to joyn in Communion with that Church wherein Gods Providence hath placed him, if he cannot justly Charge the termes of its Communion with Sin. Otherwise there will be no End of Separation, and the Breach will daily grow wider, *Secondly*, That our Judgements and Censures on those from whom we depart, be moderated with Charity; that we pick not Quarrels without a cause, nor Represent them worse in Opinion or Practice then they are; for this exasperates and alienates Mens Hearts from Peace. Some Persons have seemed to Me to have read their Adversaries Books with a Design to mistake them, which (alas!) is too easily done without giving our Minds to it. *Thirdly*, that in separate Communion, Proposals might be made how far they can come up to each other, that it may be known how far they do agree, and that unquiet Spirits may not bear the Ignorant in Hand, that they agree in nothing, and then that the true Causes of the Difference may be sett down, which would sett generous Spirits on Work to Remove these stumbling-Blocks, and make up the Breaches; At least, it would give opportunity to all Considerate Persons to weigh the Matter, to cast off real Scandals, and to come nearer together as they saw cause. *Lastly*, That all Persons be desirous of true Christian Union and Communion, that they heartily pray for the Peace of *Jerusalem*, and to their power in their severall Capacities endeavor it; That we come short of this Unity is our Unhappiness, and no Honour to our Religion; But if any do not truly desire it, I see not how they can be excused from Schism, or somewhat worse; for such seem to be insensible and regardless of the Honour of Gods Church, the Glory of his Name, the Peace, Comfort and Encouragement of Christians one amongst another, and the daily Advancement and Propagation of the Gospel of Christ; From which kind of temper the Lord preserve every One who calls himself a Christian.

## CHAP. III.

*Of the Nature of Schism.*

I. **O**UR Religion is so Unchangeable; *That if an Angel from Heaven should come and teach any other, then what we have already Received, he ought to be Accursed;* And therefore the nearer we come to the first Settlement, the surer we are to be in the Right; But some Men so doat on their fond Devices, and are so bewitched with the pleasure of Coyning New Notions, that not content to delude themselves, they labour all they can to perswade others, that every thing that is old is ugly and to be Abominated. Thus that sweet Harmony of the primitive Christians, whereby they preserved their Body Sound, against the Malice of Hereticks and Schismatics, enjoyed free Communion in all Places, and were no where destitute of Comfortable Support and Assistance, whether Spiritual or Temporal, this (I say) has either been imputed to the folly of the first Converts, or the Tyranny of Hereticating Bishops: But if there was any thing ill, and of Mischievous consequence to Religion, for this they became zealous Advocates, were ready to tell us, That the Devil is not so black as he is Painted, and so palliate the Matter, that at length they would draw it in to be useful. Amongst Matters of this Nature nothing hath found more Patrons then Schism. Some have shuffled it to and fro, till they have lost it; and some have Trick'd and Trim'd, and Sett it out for such a pretty harmless thing, as would almost tempt One to be in love with it. But being I have said enough in the first Chapter to prove Schism a Sin of a deep Dye, I shall forbear to inveigh against it, and Sett my Self rather to make a discovery of it, that the Rock appearing we may be the better able to avoid it.

II. Schism in its general Notion signifies any Rent, Rupture, Division, Separation or Solution of Continuity: But in an Ecclesiastical Sense, as applied to the Church, it denotes some Breach or Separation among the Members or parts of that Body, growing so high as to cause Bandyng into Parties, and setting up distinct and opposite Communions, or the like: But because all Separation is not Schism, and that which is, is not always sinful, therefore it may be convenient to enquire, by what means Separations are made, what Separation is Schism, and what Schism is sinful.

III. Those Persons who are so far from any Communion in the Church, that they never did or would receive and embrace the Gospel of Christ Jesus, are really separated and excluded from his Body the Church; But  
then

then in this they cannot properly be said to depart from it, or make any Schism in it, because they were never of it, nor any way Related to it. And therefore their Crime is not stiled Schism, but Infidelity; And the Persons Infidels or Heathens, not Schismaticks.

IV. Some Persons have Professed the Faith, and Lived in the Communion of the Church, but through the powerful Instigations of the Devil, the strong temptations of Worldly Advantages, Sense of Torments, dreadful Apprehensions of Danger, or the like ill Motives, have Renounced not only the Communion of the Church, but the Faith of Christ; But these are not properly Schismaticks; for Schism doth import some Relation still to the Church, though it suppose a disorderly behaviour in it, and a Breach and Violation of its Peace and Unity: But these are wholly gone off, and their Crime is in it self of a higher Nature, though many times not so Mischievous in its Effects; And it is commonly called Apostacy, and the Persons Apostates, or in the Modern Language Renegado's,

V. There is a third Sort of Persons who profess the Faith, and live in the Communion of the Church, but through Pride, Discontent, Wantonness, or the like Causes, are not careful to Attend to sound Doctrine, but fall into Errors, and Entertain and devise Opinions prejudicial to the Gospel of Christ, and the Salvation of Souls; But if these Men keep their Opinions to themselves, whatever damage they may bring to their own Souls, they can make no Ecclesiastical Schism; but if they Breach or Propagate them, then Schism is usually the Effect and Consequence of such doings; but their Denomination is from the particularity of their Crime, or obstinacy in their ill Opinions, which is called Heresy, and the Persons Hereticks.

VI. Now though Heresy is of that turbulent Nature, that it seldom fails to produce Schism, yet it may so be, that Persons may be Sound in the Faith, and yet through Pride, Discontent, Ambition, or the like ill Motives, may violate that Unity and Conjunction which ought to be amongst Christians in the Profession of the Faith and Duties it Requires: So that Heresy seems to be opposed to the Verity and Soundness of Religion, Schism to the Union of Persons amongst themselves, professing Religion. Now because the Acts of this Unity consist in Christian Communion, and it cannot be otherwise expressed and manifested but by such Communion, therefore a Departure or Separation from that Communion must be that which we call Schism. Hence *Hesychius* explains Σχίσμα by Διζήσις, which Signifies a Secession or Separation. And hence it appears, That every Heat, Quarrel or Brabble, (how faulty soever it may otherwise be,) doth not Amount to Schism, unless it so influence the Communion as to make a breach in that; And therefore neither that Contention between *Paul* and *Barnabas*, nor that Contest between *Polycarp* and *Anicetus*, nor that Difference between *Chrysostom*, and some who

had been his Auditors, nor that sharp Conflict between the same *Chrysostom* and *Epiphanius*, nor that long debate between *Stephen* and *Cyprian*, were any of them to be Accounted or brought under the Notion of Schism; because the Communion of the Church was still kept up and Maintained by all the Parties; But when this Communion is violated and broken, then it comes to a direct and open Schism; And this may be done several wayes, all of them I pretend not to reach, and those I shall mention I shall not dwell on.

VII. Some there are, who forsake the Communion of the Church, but go not so far as to set up any opposite Communion, nor that they have any honour for, or regard to Church Communion, but that they think it unnecessary, if not prejudicial. These, though they seem not to Fly so high as others, in that they Vex not the Church with opposite Communions, yet they really overthrow all Communion, and destroy the whole publick Worship of God, wherein his People are United for his glory and their own benefit; And therefore these are nothing such harmles Creatures as some think them; Amongst these we may Reckon those Rank Enthusiasts, who have overgrown Ordinances, and account themselves far above all such weak Helps and beggerly Elements.

VIII. I shall further propose it as a Question, whether some Men by their particular Opinions or Declarations may not make themselves Schismaticks, even whilst they continue in the Communion of a Church that is truly of Catholick Communion? for though the Pastor and Officers of the Church walk never so Canonically, and Perform all Services with relation to, and dependance upon the Catholick Church; yet if any Member shall so awkwardly adhere to this particular Church, as to oppose it to all others, and condemn all others, and refuse Communion with any other, he seems to Me to make himself a Schismatick; For though the Church be of Catholick Communion, yet he communicates in it upon Schismatical Principles, and makes it Schismatical to him. The Church indeed is in Communion with other Churches, but he communicates in it in opposition to other Churches; And this seems in some Measure to have been the Case of the Church of *Corinth*; *Paul*, and *Apollos*, and *Cephas* were all Ministers of the same Christ, great Master-Builders in his Church, and zealous Maintainers of its Communions; and yet several in the Communion of this Church, seems to have communicated upon narrower termes then the Constitution of it Required. For some were for *Paul*, and some for *Apollos*, and some for *Cephas*, and they that were for one were against the other two, and against all others, who did not joyn with them in the same quarrel. I will not say but that it might go higher, and that there might be opposite Communions; That *St. Paul* there Planting the Gospel, might leave so many Congregations in that Church as the Number of Converts required; That *Apollos* coming after upon the  
increase



increase of Converts, might leave them more Church-Officers, and increase the Number of their Congregations; And the first might stand stiffly for *Paul*, and the other for *Apollon*: However, the first is not improbable, and indeed both might be true successively; They might first clash in the same Communion, and then break into opposite Communions. But this I leave to the further Consideration and Censure of Others.

IX. Where there is such a Renunciation of Communion, as to set up opposite Communions, it may be Effected several Ways: Sometimes the Layety have forsaken their Pastors, Congregated into Bodies, and of their own Authority Raised distinct Communions; I will not here dispute whether they deserve that Name; but certainly this is the Height of Presumption and Madneſs; for though it be true, which *Corah* said, (*Numb. 16. 3.*) *That all the Congregation are holy*; yet the sad Story that follows. assures us, That they are not therefore all Priests and Levites, and that they may not presume to enter upon, and promiscuously discharge that Sacred Office and Function. Sometimes Subject Presbyters, and other Church-Officers have forsaken their Bishop, carried away many of the Members of his Church, and gathered Sheep from all Quarters out of the true Fold; And this is the more Mischievous, as carrying along with it some Shew of Authority. Sometimes Bishops and their Churches have Rejected the Communion of other Bishops and their Churches; Sometimes in like manner Metropolitans have opposed Metropolitans, National Churches National, and Patriarchal Patriarchal. And the schism is ever the more Mischievous, according to the Considerableness of the Persons concerned in it, or the Extent of their Jurisdiction, or the Cause they divide upon. Too much of all this is in the present Divisions of the Christian World, which are managed with that Bitterness and Height, and have torn the Church so all-to pieces, that it is a Subject fitter for our Lamentation then Discourse.

X. And yet after all it must be Acknowledged, that all Separation is not sinful; for then wherever there was a Separation, they would be faulty on both Sides, as well they that made, as they that suffer by the Separation; Nay, if that should be granted, a Man might be necessitated to Sin, which he never is or can be. For if unsufferable Corruptions or sinful Usages be brought into a Church, whereof any Person is a Member, and set up as terms of Communion; He cannot Communicate without Sin, nor can he Depart without Sin, but unavoidably must split upon one of these two Rocks, if all Separation be sinful; And therefore to discover that Schism which is Sinful or Criminal, we must bring it not only a Physical but a Moral Consideration. Such the Case may be, that the Separation may not only be lawful but necessary. It was Gods Command to the *Israelites* concerning *Babylon*, (*Jerem. 5. 45.*) *My People, Go ye out of the midst of her, and deliver ye every*

every Man his Soul from the fierce Anger of the Lord. And St. Paul, having described a Sort of ill Men, which in the latter times should infest the Chure, he gives this Charge to Timothy concerning them, (2 Tim. 3. 5.) *From such turn away.* Actual Separation therefore may sometimes be a Duty, when it is a Departure from those who have before departed from the Right, and violated the Unity, and corrupted the Communion of the Church. But being there ought to be no Separation, but upon the score of Avoiding Obligations to Sin, and no further then may secure us in that matter, there can be no Separation but there will be Sin on the one side or the other; And being the bare Separation may not only be lawful but duty, the Sin or Schism must Lie, where the cause and evil is found, and they are the Schismatics who unjustly cause the Breach. And indeed simple Separation doth not include the whole Nature of Schism in an Ecclesiastical Sense. For though those, who depart from any true Church of God, as it is a part of the Catholick Church, do break off from the Body; yet those, who depart upon just and warrantable Grounds, though they depart from the Schismatics, yet they do not so forsake the Church of God, but continue in its Communion, and are Members of that Body; and therefore cannot be Schismatics: But I need not Discourse this any further, because (I think) it is Agreed on all Hands, that the Sin of Schism follows the Cause. Now from all that hath been said, this or the like Definition of Schism may be Gathered, That it is an unjust Violation, Breach or Solution of the Unity of the Church: Or (to express it more plainly) a Causeless Separation from Ecclesiastical Communion.

XI. How far some more moderate Person in the Church of Rome, may be willing to go along with Me in these Considerations, I cannot tell; the Generality of them I know go further; but that will not be the least part of that Controversie; However, here we must part. But because I do profess my self a Person, who doth deeply Mourn over that dismal state of the Church, to which these Divisions have brought it, (and that God, who knows the Secrets of all Hearts, knows that I say true) and do wish an End of their Bröils, and would Contribute the utmost of my Endeavors to Repair the Breaches: And do moreover freely confess, That Schism is a Sin of a very dangerous Nature; it will therefore Concern Me to discharge my self, from being either a Partner in, or an Abettor of that Mischievous Evil, of which I Complain; And therefore now I shall endeavour to prove, not only that the Cause of the Schism between the Church of *England* and the Church of *Rome* lyes at the Church of *Rome's* door; But further, that let them pretend what they will, that Schism was first made, and still Maintained and Upheld for such Reasons as ought to be Strangers to the Christian Religion, and do drive on and keep up such an unwarrantable and sulsom Interest, as is not Consistent with the true state of Gods Church. If any

Man shall give me better Information, upon due Consideration I shall be willing to receive it, and thankful for it. But if any Man shall please to set himself against Me, I would desire him to deal with Me as a Man, who is of the Communion of the Church of *England* in sense of duty, who never gave up my self to any particular Party of Men, and who in all my Studies have had a Special Eye to the Advancement of the Peace of Gods Church, and the Satisfaction of my own Conscience.

## C H A P. IV.

### *Of the Liberties and Privileges of the Britannick Churches: And of the Actual Separation.*

**H**E who would Build true, will first clear the Ground; And therefore I must crave leave to Remove some old Rubbish out of my way, before I can descend to some such particular Matters (for I pretend not to take in all) as I think may Justifie that Separation, which we now Maintain, (for we are not the Men who made it, but defend that Church, which we found, and were born and bred in, and therefore ought not to desert it without just Cause) Two things with no lack of Confidence are Urged as a Prejudice against our whole Cause. First, That these Churches, and even all their Bishops did owe a particular Subjection to the Bishop of *Rome*, either as Sole Vicar and Plenipotentiary of Christ Jesus on Earth, or at least as the Western Patriarch. Secondly, that supposing this to be otherwise, yet since the Separation Matters have been decided by a General Council, (*viz.* That of *Trent*;) to which all ought to submit. I shall Endeavor to give a fair Answer to both these Objections; But first must premise, That supposing, not granting the truth of either or both these Objections, yet of themselves they do not overthrow our Cause; for no Plea of any exorbitant Authority or Conciliar Determination can oblige us to a Sinful Communion; And if that Plea be made good against them, all their other Arguments Vanish into Air; For the Holy Ghost never Assisted any Council to make wicked Determinations; Nor did the Ancients know of any such Exotick Power in the Pope, as that he might be Obeyed in every thing; for though several Matters contributed to gain him an extraordinary Respect in, and Influence on the Church, yet they held him to the Canons; And if he deviated from them or the Truth, they without scruple opposed him. When *Basilides* and *Martialis*, two *Spanish* Bishops, justly deposed, fled to *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*; And



by Lyes and Flattery so prevailed with him, that he not only admitted them to Communion, but endeavored to restore them; St. *Cyprian* smartly opposeth it, writes not only to the Bishops, but even to the People there to refuse Communion with them, Commends the Substituting two other Bishops in their Room, and says, *That the Faults of Basilides in Endeavoring his Restoration by Stephen's means, were Non tam abobita, quam cumalata* (Epist. 68. dd. Pam.) I could bring Instances enough of this kind, but this being a by-matter in this place, I will leave it and Return to the Objections.

II. Two Titles are set up the better to secure us; But the one is purely forged: and the other is crackt, weak and bad, and not able to support the Claim which is Founded on it; It is hard to say, what Authority the Bishop of *Rome* doth not Challenge under the Notion of Christs Vicar; His Flatterers will scarce allow any Bounds to be Set to it, and Examine his Actions, and you will find that he sets himself none. On this score, not only we, but all the Christian Churches in the World, which are not of the *Roman* Communion, are stigmatized for Schismatics: On the contrary I think, that there is no one thing that doth better justify our Separation, then the Challenge, and (what in him lies) Exercise of such an Arbitrary and boundless Authority over all the Churches of God. Upon this Account this Matter will fall under a particular Consideration, as one of the principal Grounds and Reasons of our Separation; And therefore at present I will leave this great Vicar-General, and try if we can come to any better termes with the Western Patriarch.

III. This latter Title, as less liable to Exception, hath been insisted upon of late by some, who would seem to be of more moderate Principles, and more tender both of the Liberty and Authority of particular Churches: nor is it to be denied, That the Bishop of *Rome* had a Patriarchate in the Western part of the *Roman* Empire, but by what Authority he came by it, and how far it was extended, and whether he hath forfeited and justly fallen from it, and other Questions of the like Nature, will fall in of themselves in the Series of our Discourse. In the mean time, I do think this Title to be set up at this time only as a Blind to Amuse the more unwary and well Meaning Persons, who are willing to submit to Ecclesiastical Constitutions, though they detest all unjust, much more all insolent and shameless Usurpations; for if by a Charter from Christ he be his only Vicar, over the Universal Church, it is not only a Lessening of his Holiness, but a direct Affront to our Saviour, to Cope up his Deputy within Bounds, and to Give Him a limited Jurisdiction by Ecclesiastical Authority, when he is Invested with all by Original Right, and needs not any which they can Give; And it would certainly be much greater Satisfaction to the Christian World, to prove his Authority to be of God, rather then Men. Besides, I would gladly

know, whether the Bishop of *Rome* will Acquiesce here, and Rest Contented with the Title and Authority of the Western Patriarch? For Patriarchal Authority is by Ecclesiastical Constitution, and was at first Suited to the Divisions of the Empire, and the Grandeur of some principal Cities in it; And by the same Authority it was Given may be taken away, or placed elsewhere, as shall be judged most useful and beneficial to the Church of God. Now though all this may be easily proved, yet being applied to the Bishop of *Rome*, (and according to the present state of the Question, it is as applicable to him as any other Patriarch) I fear the whole College of Cardinals *Nemine Contradicente*, would Cry out, *Herefie, damnable Herefie*. And therefore the starting this Title at this time, I only look on as a Sly Device to let in the Cats Head, that she may with greater Ease draw in her Body after.

IV. But be it as it will, without any regard to any such ill Designs, which some Men may covertly Manage, let the Objection have its due force, and let us Examine, whether the Bishop of *Rome* as Western Patriarch, (so called in Relation to other Patriarchates in the Empire of another Site) had any peculiar and proper Jurisdiction over the *Britannick Churches*, or whether they were any part of his Diocess, as the word in its largest Acception signifies, A Division containing several Provinces? And this I think will be fully Answered: if I prove, That in Relation to the *Britannick Church*, either he had no such Jurisdiction, or none by Right.

V. That the Government of the Church was left in the Hands of the Bishops, I shall prove hereafter. But for the more convenient and advantageous Management of the Churches Affairs, there began very early a particular Deference, Respect and Observance to be paid to the Bishop of the principal City, where the Secular Governour had his Residence. He at first was called *Episcopus prima Urbis*, or *Sedis*; Afterwards, a Metropolitan. But some overgrown Cities, whose Numbers, Wealth and Interest enabled them to overtop and oppress Others, as it were, Naturally Infused into their Bishops a Spirit of Ambition to extend their Jurisdiction and Power, Answerably to the Grandeur of their City. These Mens Encroachments were for a long time stoutly opposed, but Power naturally following Strength, Wealth and Interest, and an Advantage being given them by the New Division of the Empire by *Constantine*, they in the End prevail'd, and Grasp'd so large Jurisdiction as to have several Metropolitans under them, and obtained their first Ratification in the Council of *Chalcedon*, as our late Learned Bishop of *Oxford* hath clearly proved. (*Account of Church-Govern.*) These at first were called Exarchs, afterwards Patriarchs, and sometimes Primates. Of this new Booty, without fail, the Bishop of *Rome*, as Bishop of the most Renowned City in the World, and the Ancient Seat of the Empire, carried away no small Share; for he was always of Kin to the Lion in the Fable, who, when the Prey came to be divided,

divided, made the Beasts that Hunted wit him, Content with a very small pittance, if he was so gracious as to allow any thing: But yet this New Exorbitant Power did not swallow up the whole Church, but in many Places they still Lived in their Ancient Liberty, Governed by their Bishops and Metropolitans, without being subject to any Patriarch; of which the *Cyprian* Churches are a famous Instance in the East, and I can yet see nothing to persuade me to think otherwise of the *Britannick* in the West.

VI. Never any Succession of Men have stood so constantly on their Guard, and have been so watchful, diligent and industrious upon all occasions, to depress others and Exalt themselves, as the Bishops of the *Roman* See: All was Fish that ever come to their Net; If they could at any time steal into a Jurisdiction, though never so unjustly, they would never quit it, or not without strong Tagging and eternal Claiming. And therefore Considering this Temper it were a fair Proposal, that Setting aside Flims and Impertinencies, they would produce any fair Footsteps of a proper Jurisdiction exercised by the Bishop of *Rome* over the *Britons*, within the space of a Hundred years after the Council of *Chalcedon*; For when Men have always been so busie in Acquiring, so tenacious in Keeping, so severe in Exercising Jurisdiction, and want no Records, (unless what themselves have either falsified or abused); That these Men can produce no good Evidence for such a Jurisdiction, to Me it seems a good Argument, that from the Beginning there was none. If bare Claims, (and those coming after) were enough, no Man could live in Peace: And therefore he that will thrust another out of possession for his own benefit, must well and clearly prove his Title. Had these Islands belonged to the *Roman* Patriarch, there was no strength in them to have kept out his Power, when it was back'd with the least Shew of Right. If therefore it cannot be proved, that the Bishop of *Rome* was in possession of such Jurisdiction, here, at or near the time that Patriarchates were settled, he may let his Suit fall; unless he have more Hopes from force or fraud, then Right; In this Case, if in any, that Common Rule, *Idem est non esse, & non apparere*, hold good; And the rather, because the Canon that Confirms Patriarchates, supposeth the former Exercise of such Jurisdiction by Custom. What by degrees he gained long after, may serve well enough to prove him an Usurper, but can Create him no Right, as I shall prove Anon.

VII. Now though it be all the Reason in the World, that if the *Romanists* will pretend a Title, they should prove it; yet I will not barely insist upon Possession on our part, without giving some Reasons that may manifest our Right to it. If the Patriarchate of the Bishop of *Rome* was Confined to the Suburbicary Churches, it is most certain, that the *Britons* lay too far off to be Hook'd in by that Title; What other Evidence can be brought for the certain Bounds of his Patriarchate, I cannot tell; I have met with no better:

And

And this having been plainly Assigned to him, it will concern them to bring their Proofs, who will extend it further, and therefore I will not longer insist on it. Yet this among other Reasons moves me to think, that as Patriarch he had no proper Jurisdiction either over the *Gallican* or *Spanish* Churches, and divers others, otherwise then as he might sometimes interpose as an Honourary Arbitrator, or at other times upon a nicking Opportunity with the diligence of a watchful Usurper, invade their Rights. That the *French* Churches came not under his Authority in the same way and manner, that some Others did, the Liberties of the *Gallican* Churches so stoutly Maintained to this very day, are an irrefragable Instance; And perhaps that is almost the only Church of the *Roman* Communion, which affords us any Hope, that the Cause may one day come to a more equal Hearing, and Matters be brought more to Rights in the Church of God. But as for our selves, if the Bishop of *Rome* never Exercised any such Patriarchal Jurisdiction over the *Britons*, nor would they own or submit to any such (considering the low Estate of the One, and the Power, Arts and indefatigable Industry of the other) it will be a Convincing Argument to any unprejudiced Person, that he never had any such Jurisdiction here; That he did Exercise any such Jurisdiction, I deny; And it will Concern them to Convince Me by clear Instances of the contrary, who will Assert it; But if it were possible, that they could tell me Five Hundred Tales of Persons sent over hither by the Bishop of *Rome*, I shall not Value it one Rush. For if wherever he sends one of an Errand, he Requires the Jurisdiction of the place, as he hath the Privilege which never Man had; so if he hath not been very negligent and false to his own Interest, he might long since have gained the Jurisdiction of the whole World, and that is certainly too much for a Patriarch, which is our present dispute. But though I am not bound to prove the Negative, yet to shew that he could have no such Jurisdiction, I shall produce two Arguments, the one taken from the different Rites and Usages of the *Britons* from the *Romans*; The other from the *British* Bishops downright disclaiming such Authority, and Asserting and Proving their Liberty.

VIII. Doubtless it doth more Concern us to be truly thankful, that God hath Vouchsafed us the Light of his Gospel, and to be careful to live according to it, then scrupulously to enquire after the precise time, when the *Britons* Received the Christian Faith. But if Enquiry should be made, (which in our present Case may not only be allowable but useful) I am prone to think it would appear, That the *British* Churches were so far from being the Slave, that they were the Elder Sister of the Church of *Rome*; And if neither the Gift of Christ, nor the Canons of the Ancient Church have dealt her any hard Measure in this Matter, certainly the Prerogative of her Birth-right ought to invest Her with some Honour and Priviledge, at least to Shield Her from Truckling

Truckling too much to the Power and Petulance of her younger Sister: And the rather because she hath not been unfruitful, as having brought forth the first Christian King, furnished the World with the first Christian Emperour, afforded the first (call her as you please) Christian Queen or Empress, and of all Others first Received the Faith, that it was the publick, Allowed and Authorized Religion of the place, in which Respect she hath sometimes been Honoured with the Title of *Primogenita Ecclesia*; But to pass by these Honourary Titles, it is generally Agreed, That the *Britons*, as in several other Matters, so especially in the Observation of the Feast of *Easter*, did differ from the *ROMANS*: And to find out the true Reason of this, I think the best Way will be to look still higher, even to the first times of Christianity. Our blessed Saviour was so far from separating from the Jewish Church, that he made them his particular Care and Charge, and seems to have so designed all his Labours for their Conviction and Reformation, that all Nations might have been Aggregated to them in his Name; And therefore he was generally shy towards Others, and being Urged with Arguments in favour of the Woman of *CANAAN*, plainly Answers, (*Matth. 15. 24.*) *I am not sent, but unto the lost Sheep of the House of Israel.* This Honour towards the Jewish Church, (the only Church of God then on Earth) and Care that it might not be lost, but rather that the Wall of Separation being broken down, all Others might be let in to Her, continued with the Apostles and Disciples of Christ, after his Death and Resurrection, for they remained still at *Jerusalem*, preaching to the Jews. And when the Cruelty of *Herod*, and Malice of the Jews followed them so close, that they were many of them forced to Fly out of *Jerusalem* to save their Lives, yet their kindness to the Jews, and Hopes of their Conversion still stuck close to them, in so much that those, who were scattered upon the Persecution of *Stephen*, and went as far as *Phenice*, *Cyprus* and *Antioch*, Preached the Word to none but the Jews only, (*Acts 11. 19.*) And there was need of no less than a Miracle to perswade *Peter* to go and instruct *Cornelius* a Gentile in the Way of Truth, (*Acts 10.*) and though he did go upon such unanswerable Motives, yet he was called to an Account for it: The going in unto Men Uncircumcised was thought a Crime not to be suffered, unless extraordinary Reason could be given for it. And perhaps this Tenderness towards the Jews might be no small cause of *Peters* Judaizing at *Antioch*. Now whilst the Disciples did Adhere so close to the Jews, it is not only Reasonable to suppose, that they Used their Customes and Rites; But we have Scripture Testimony of some Instances, wherein they did so, as in the matter of the Sabbath, (though they kept also the Lords Day) and Circumcision, and some other things. And therefore it is likely, that they did observe with them their other Fasts and Feasts, especially that which was Accounted the Principal, the Passover. For as they look'd upon these things as in their own Natures,



tures, to be matters then indifferent, so they did hope to draw off the Jews by degrees, and to let the Law of *Moses* go off Honourably rather by Disuse then Contempt. And this Practice continued for some time after the Conversion of divers of the Gentiles by the Disciples, who were dispersed by the Persecution at *Jerusalem*. And therefore I take that Plea of *Polyrates* for his different Observation of *Easter* from *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, to be a Testimony of the very early Conversion of those *Asiatick* Churches, and that they were of the First fruits of Christianity. But after that God, by bestowing the Holy Ghost on the Gentiles, and other clear Signes and Indications of his Will, had Convinced all the Apostles and Ministers of the Word, that it was not only lawful, but their Duty to make known the Words of Eternal Life unto the Gentiles, and the Gentiles upon their Preaching in all places did plentifully Flock into the Church, then in those Gentile Churches Christian Liberty began in a greater Measure to be Maintained against the Mosaical Rites. And now *Paul*, who Circumcised *Timothy*, refused to Circumcise *Titus*; yea, even the Council at *Jerusalem* disburthen of all those Matters except some few things, which the Necessity of the Times would not permit them to take off, unless they should have utterly disoblighed the Jews, of whom they had some Hopes. And about this time it is probable began the strict Observation of the Lords Day, with the Neglect of the Sabbath; And the Celebrating the Resurrection, not on the precise time of the Jewish Passover, but on the first day of the Week, (Called the Lords Day, from his Resurrection on that day) next following the Fourteenth of the Moon. And yet though this was Allowed in the Gentiles, yet in Communion with the Christian Jews, a greater Regard was had to the Law; And therefore when that great Assertor of the Gentiles Liberty *St. Paul*, came up to *Jerusalem*, though the Disciples Approved what he had done, yet they Advise Him to go purifie himself in the Temple, and do such other Matters, that he might Appear according to the Opinion of the Jews, to Walk orderly and keep the Law, (*Acts 21*) But when neither Pains, Patience nor Arguments could prevail, but the Jews became more obstinate then ever in Adhering to the Mosaical Rites, and obtruded them upon all Others, with the Opinion of such absolute Necessity that they became a Scandal to the Gospel, and made the Death of Christ in vain, and upon this Account werethe Implicable Enemies of the Christians in all Places; Then to Vindicate the Gospel the Christians were under a Necessity to depart from them; And those, who before Complied all that could be with them, now lest they should seem to countenance the Opinion, That Salvation was by the Law of *Moses*, not by the Faith of *Christ Jesus*, Fled as far as they could from them, and would not joyn with them in, or Practise any of the Rites peculiar to the Law of *Moses*; for the Matter was now come to that pass, that they could not do it without betraying the Christiana

Christian Religion; so that now ceased the Obligation to these Matters, which the Council at *Jerusalem* had formerly imposed in favour of the Jews, and Hopes to Win them. And hence it is probable, many Churches took Occasion to turn the Great Festival of the Jews the Sabbath into a Fast. And for this Reason amongst Others, viz. That they might not Ground their Festival from any Jewish Rite, or because they thought the Account not exact, they declined the Fourteenth of the Moon, and began that Feast on the Lords Day, reckoning from the Fifteenth to the One and Twentieth of the Moon. Now not to Run over the Stories of *Simon Zelotes*, *Joseph of Arimathea*, and Others, who are Celebrated for the first Planters of the Christian Religion in these Isles: From these Premises it is not irrational to Conclude, that the *British* Churches, observing the Feast of *Easter* after the Usage which obtained before the Separation from the Jews, and the *Roman* Church more exactly as was devised afterwards, the Gospel in all probability must have been Preached and Received in *Brittain*, some time before any Considerable Church was Gathered at *Rome*; And being this Usage continued for several Hundreds of Years, though the Bishops of *Rome* were so far from suffering it in, that they would scarce suffer it out of their Jurisdiction, it will follow, that these Churches were neither of *Roman* Conversion, nor *Roman* Jurisdiction.

IX. This Matter will be much clearer, if we now descend to Consider the Debates, Behaviour and Actions of the *British* Bishops towards *Augustine* the Monk, who was sent hither by Pope *Gregory* for the Conversion of the *Saxons*. But first to prevent mistakes I must tell you, that I have no design either to Vindicate the *British* Bishops in the Observation of *Easter*, or to condemn the *Roman*; It Matters not to Me who was right or wrong; but it is the Difference and the Grounds whereon it was Maintained, which serves my Ends. The *Britons* were not *Quartodecimani*, as some have supposed; for those kept the Feast on the Fourteenth of the Moon, on what day of the Week soever it fell; but the *Britons* expected the Lords Day. But I suppose none now will Contest it, but that the *Romans* were most exact and right in their Observation; but then that arose from this Nicety, That the Law of *Moses* Commands the Paschal Lamb to be slain in the Evening of the Fourteenth day of the first Month: Now according to the Jewish Account, who Reckoned the foregoing Night to the following day, that must be on the Beginning of the Fifteenth day: But the *Britons*, who Reckoned not from Sunset, but from Sun-rise, and so on the contrary joyned the following Night to the foregoing day, could not see this, but must of course take the Evening following the Fourteenth Day, to be part of the Fourteenth Day. And therefore their Practice being suitable to their Common Conceptions; And having obtained amongst them from their first Entrance into Christianity, it was

unreasonable that those, who had no Jurisdiction over them, should impose an Alteration upon them, and still worse. to raise irreconcilable feuds, and make Divisions in Gods Church for such a matter; As if a Man could not be a good Christian, without being an exact Astronomer, and Critically cunning in the Customes of other Nations.

X. But to Return to our Matter. *Mauritius*, according to *Beda*, (*Ecl. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 23.*) came to the Empire in the Year 582; In the Tenth Year of his Reign *Gregory* came to the Popedom; And he in the Fourteenth Year of the same Emperours Reign sends *Augustine* to the Saxons, so that *Augustines* first Mission was about the Year 595, But though he and his Companions seem'd to set forth with great Chearfulness and Resolution, yet whether from the dread of a Warlike and barbarous People, or from an Apprehension of their inability for the Work, as not understanding the Language, or what other Cause I know not; After mature deliberation in Council they fairly tack about, and Sail back again. This much troubled the good Pope, who by all Circumstances seems to have Set his Heart on this Work; And he had the greater Reason for it, because it was already half done to his Hands; And therefore he gently Reproves these faint-hearted Souldiers, but takes greater pains to encourage them; And that they might want nothing to Fit them for the Work, he Sends and Recommends them to *Esheries* Archbishop of *Alex*, who furnisheth them with Interpreters *de Gente Francorum*, (*Bed. Ecl. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 24. & 25.*) And now away they go for good, and Land in the Isle of *Thanet*, and perhaps there was no great difficulty in Converting King *Ethelbert*, for it was now about 150 Years since the Coming in of the Saxons; And though their Quarrel was with the *Britons*, yet they could not in all that time but understand somewhat of the Christian Religion from them. Besides, *Ethelberts* Queen was a Christian, and *de Gente Francorum Regia* (as *Beda* phraseth it); And it was Conditioned at her Marriage, That She should have the free Use of her Religion; And the Condition was duely kept; for whereas the King had his Court in *Canterbury*, the Queen had for her Use the then Ancient Church of *St. Martin* standing at the Towns-End, and her Bishop *Lindhardus*, who Officiated; And any Body will suppose, That both She and her Bishop would do all they could to Influence and perswade the King: Further, *Beda* (*Ecl. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 25.*) saith expressly, though somewhat mincingly, That *Antea fama ad eum Christiana Religiois pervenerat*. And *Gregory* the Great in one of his Letters saith, *They were desirous of it*. And whosoever shall duely Consider the whole Behaviour of King *Ethelbert*, will find in him no Averlion to the Christian Religion, but that like a wise Prince he only took care so to manage the Matter, that he might Receive it with the Satisfaction of his Subjects, and draw them to it after him. Well, in a short time the King is Converted, and *Augustine* becomes his Favourite:

And

And yet before this, with the true Industry of a Monck, he Lends the Honest Bishop *Linhardus* a Lift, who had prepared Matters for him, and by the Kings Favour gets Possession of *St. Martins* Church. And here I know not well how to excuse *Beda* from Partiality. For he saith as little as could be be ore, but henceforward not a word of the endeavors of the Queen or her Bishop, nor a tittle of all the labor and pains of the *French* Intetpreters, without whom this our *English* Apostle could have done nothing; But *Augustine*, like a true Son of the *Roman* Church, goes away both with all the Honour and all the profit. And now being grown too great for a Monck, he makes a Journey to *Arles*, and by the Arch-bishop of that place, at the Motion of Pope *Gregory*, is Ordained no less then *Archiepiscopus Genti Anglorum*, (*Bed. Eccl. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 27.*) a pretty Fetch before New Converts understood themselves, to secure the whole Authority of the Nation to a *Roman* Missionary, and consequently to the Pope, whoever should be afterwards at the pains to convert them. However, after his Return he seems to have Laboured in the business, and after the Death of Pope *Gregory*, which *Beda* (*Eccl. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 1.*) Refers to the Year 605, he obtains a Conference with the *Brittish* Bishops, with a design to get their Assistance in converting the *Saxons*, and withal to Advance Himself by drawing them under his Jurisdiction; But whether in Hatred to the *Saxons*, their Mortal and indeed unjust Enemies, or through offence at *Augustines* Pride and taking too much upon him, or in love to their old Customes, which *Augustine* unseasonably would not allow, the main Business miscarried, and then first Arose the Paschal Controversie in *Britain*, so that at first dash here Ariseth a Prescription of about 600 Yeares for the *British* Usage.

XI. The Grounds whereon the *Britons* proceeded seem to be Chiefely these, That they would not give up their Ancient Liberties and Customes, nor depart from the Canons of the Church. And here *Beda* shews himself little favourable to their Affaires, as at other times he appears very ignorant in them; for though he studiously Conceals *Augustines* Ambition, yet the *Britons* Answers plainly discover it. For their first Answer is this, *Nem se posse absque suorum consensu ac Licentiâ Præfisci abdicare Moribus.* And in the second Meeting or Synod their Answer is plainly this, *That they will not Receive Him for their Arch-bishop*, (*Bed. Ecc. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 2.*) But the Answer of the Abbot of *Bangor* shews the Reason, why they neither could, nor ought to do it; and is so pat to the purpose, that I shall set it down as Sir *Henry Spelman* hath Translated it from the *Brittish*, (*Co. pag. 108.*) *Be it known, and without doubt unto you, That we all are, and everyone of us Obedient and Subjects to the Church of God, and to the Pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, and to love every One in his degree, in perfect Charity, and to keep every One of them, by word and deed to be the Children of God; And other Obedience than this I do not know due, to Him*

whom you Name to be Pope, nor to be the Father of Fathers to be Claimed and to be Demanded; And this Obedience we are ready to give and to pay to him, and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are under the Government of the Bishop of Caerleon upon Uske, who is to Oversee, under God, over us, to Cause us to keep the Way Spiritual. This Answer throughout favours the temper of the most early Primitive times, and shews, That the Afflictions of the Britons had kept their Churches from that Corruption and secular Pride, which had then too much invaded Others; And from it I will only observe three things. First, That with a tender Care to express their Communion with the Catholick Church, and their duty to all Christians, they own no other Obedience to the Bishop of Rome, then as Christians they owe to any other Foreign Bishops and their Churches; And so the Bishop of Rome owed as much to Them as they to Him. Secondly, That the Authority which *Augustine* demanded, and the Power of any Foreign Bishop to place him over them, was a thing utterly unknown and unheard of to them; so little were they Acquainted with the Patriarchate, which is now so Confidently Asserted. Thirdly, that they were so subject to the Arch-bishop of *Caerleon*, That they did not think him subject to the Jurisdiction of any other particular Bishop whatsoever; but that he was over them next under God. And accordingly we never hear of any Appeals from him to any Superiour See; But if any thing concerned them in Common, or was too weighty for him, it was Transacted Synodically. And it is Observeable, That though the British Bishops and Clergy Flockt to this Synod with their main strength, yet the Arch-bishop of *Caerleon* absented himself, in all likelihood either in indignation at *Augustines* Claims, or lest his Appearance should seem any ways in the least to Countenance that Superiority, which he Challenged over him. The Effects of this Synod were very unhappy, for the Britons went away so Enraged at *Augustines* Pride and Pretences, that they would not Afford the least Assistance towards the Conversion of the Saxons; Nay, when they were Converted, it is Apparent, That they looked on them as Schismatics, or worse, and would have no Communion with them: And in this untoward Humour they persisted, even when the Saxon Kings had brought the British Kings under some kind of Subjection. This is evident from *Beda*; (*Ecc. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 20.*) who telling us, how *Carduella* King of the Britons Rebelled against *Edwin* then principal King of the Saxons, and by the Help of *Penda* King of the Mercians, slew both Him and his only Son, and utterly Routed his whole Army; after he had bestowed some ill words on them both for their pains, he has this Remarkable Passage concerning *Carduella* and the Britons, *Sed nec Religioni Christianæ, quæ apud eos exorta erat, aliquid impendebat Honoris: quippe eum usque hodie Moris sui Britonum, Eadem Religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere, neque in aliquo eis magis Communicare, quam Paganos.* So that hence it is plain, That they continued the same not only after



after *Augustine's* time, but even to *Beda's*. But to Return again to *Augustine*, he being every way defeated of his purpose, meditates Revenge, and incenseth *Eshelbert* so highly, That he stirs up *Edilfrid* King of the *Northumbrians*, and they together made that lamentable Slaughter of the Monks of *Bangor*, which *Beda*, and after him the *Romanists*, as one Man Account as a Signal Judgement of God upon their Obstinacy; But Others say, it was a Contrivance, and that God more Signally Vindicated their Innocence; For three *British* Princes with their Mirmidons met them both, whilest they were Reeking hot with the Blood of these Innocents, and killed above ten Thousand of their Men, sore Wounded *Edilfrid*, and warmly pursued *Eshelbert*, by which means their sinking Spirits were Recruited, their Wrongs in some Measure Revenged, and their Borders enlarged as far as the *Humber*, (*Spel. Co. pag. 111. & seq.*)

XII. Hitherto the *Britons* preserved their Ecclesiastical Liberties entire, though they had lost the best part of their Countrey; And neither *Augustine's* Reasons, nor *Eshelbert's* Armies, could prevail with them to give up those just Rights, which they had been so long possessed of. But when *Augustine* died, *Laurentius* succeeds him, a Man both pious and prudent, and of a much sweeter temper than his Predecessor: And he in Zeal for the Propagation of the Faith Attempts to persuade not only the *Britons* but the *Irish* to joyn with him in the Work, only he seems very desirous, that they would all unite in observing *Easter* at the same time; But as for the *Britons*, they were so far from any Accommodation, that they would not Allow of any Communion with him: Nor was his success at present much better with the *Irish*, for though he Hoped to find them otherwise, yet he was deceived, and upon Discovery it is Acknowledged with some Grief. *Scottos* (i.e. the *Irish*, for *Beda's* *Scotti* are *Irish*) *nihil discrepare a Britonibus in eorum Conversatione*, (*Bed. Eec. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 4.*) and the Behaviour of *Digamus* an *Irish* Bishop did not a little trouble him, of whom he has this Complaint, *Ad nos venient, non solum cibum Nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescemur, sumere voluit*, (*id. ib.*) so that it seems the *Roman* Bishops would have been content to have Communicated with the *British* and *Irish* Bishops, and allowed them Orthodox; but the other would not own them to be so.

XIII. By the Way give me leave to observe, That the *Britons*, *Scotts* and *Irish* all unanimously Agreed in the same Religious Rites. As to the *Irish* and *Britons*, it appears from what hath been said already, and will be more evident from what shall follow. As for that part of the Island now called *Scotland*, it was then inhabited, partly by the *Scotts*, who Flockt thither out of *Ireland*, and from whom it afterwards took its Name; And partly by the *Britons*, under the Name of *Picts*: For he that Considers *Mr. Camdens* Reasons to prove them *Britons*, will never be at the pains to fetch

fetch them so far as *Scythia*, (*Brit. iij. Picts*) And when *Beda* tells us of *Columbanus* an *Irish* Abbot going to Convert the *Picts*, he Confesses, That the Southern *Picts* had been Christians long before; and so might the Northern too: though it is probable, that living in those wilde Countreys, and continually Exercised in Wars and Rapine, they might be so far degenerated, that the Recovering them to the true sense and state of Christianity, might not unfitly be called a Conversion. Now as *Columbanus* was an *Irish* Man, so *Nynias*, who long before Converted the Southern *Picts*, was a *Briton*, And therefore doubtless both Taught the same Rites, wherein both People Agreed. But perhaps much stress is not to be laid on the Story, so far as it Relates to *Nynias*; For *Beda* tells that part of it with an *ut perhibetur*, nor was he well skilled in the Ancient *British* Affairs; And I am apt to think, That for the Honour of the *Roman* Way, which *Beda* upon all Occasions promotes, he patch'd that Piece to his Heard-say Tale, That *Nynias* was *Roma regulariter Fidem & Mysteria Veritatis edoctus*; for the *Britons* at that time had little or no Converse with the *Roman* Christians, though they ever kept a kind Correspondence and Friendly Communion with the *French*. Nor can I find one clear instance, that any part of the *British*, *Scotch* or *Irish* Churches, till after *Augustine's* time, differed in their Religious Rites, especially as to the Observation of *Easter*. Nay, it will appear Anon, that the *Roman* Party themselves, yielded them to be Unanimous in this thing. Yea, *Beda* expressly Affirms, That *Omnis Natio pictorum, &c.* The whole Nation of the *Picts* observe *Easter* the same Way. (*Ecc. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 3.*) And for the other it is out of Question.

XIV. But to Return to *Laurenus*; He was not only frustrated in his pious Design by the *Britons* and *Irish*, but fell soon after into a great deal of trouble; For after the Death of *Ethelbert* Religion went backward amongst the *Saxons*, the Pagan Worship and Wickedness got Ground daily, and a dreadful Storm seemed to grow up apace, and Hang over the Heads of the Christians, in so much that *Mellitus* and *Justus* the Bishops of *London* and *Rocheſter*, discouraged with their ill success, and finding themselves not safe, Retire into *France*, and *Laurenus* was once Resolv'd to follow them. But it pleased God to be more merciful to these People, and propitious to his Endeavours; For he seems to have been a Man truly pious, and to have discharged all the Parts of a good Christian Bishop. And having happily Reclaimed King *Eadbald*, the Son and Successor of *Ethelbert*, he recalls *Mellitus* and *Justus*. And now it is very Reasonable to suppose, That he Resolved to lay aside these Punctilio's and little Differences, and perswaded *Mellitus* and *Justus*, who both in their Turns succeeded him, to do the same; that they might be more serviceable to the main Christian Cause, and the Propagation of the Gospel; For though the *Britons* could by no means be Wrought on, as either  
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being Jealous of the *Roman* Clergy, or Exasperated by the Injuries which they had and daily did Receive from the *Saxons*; yet the *Irish* and *Scotch*, who had not the like Quarrels to their Territories, in a short time fall to Labour in the Harvest, and that very successfully. But it should seem, that they first Agreed to enjoy their own Liberties and Rites. For those who were Converted by them of the *Roman* Way, kept *Easter* as the *Romans* did, and observed their Rites; And those who were Converted by the *Irish* or *Scots*, followed the *Irish* Customs, which were the same with the *Britons*, and yet both Communicated with each other, and jointly promoted the Common Cause: And this with some little Disputes, which will always Happen in such Cases, continued without any breach of Communion, for a very Considerable time. *Aidan* a *Scotchman*, the first Bishop of the *Northumbrians*, preached the Gospel so powerfully, and lived so Exemplarily, That the *Romanists* themselves had him in no mean Veneration; Nor doth *Beda* (except in the Matter of the Paschal Solemnity, in which he forgives no Man) afford any Man a fairer or sweeter Character throughout his whole history. After seventeen Years toyl God sends him a Writ of Ease, and he is Succeeded by his Countryman *Finan*, who lived in the Sixteen Years; All this time both *Romish* and *British* Rites were promiscuously used, according as every Man was instructed by him, who Converted him, and yet both Parties lived in great Charity and Christian Communion. And thus it held till the third year of *Coleman*, *Finan's* Successor, which was in the Year of our Lord 664. (*Bed. Ecc. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 26.*) And then that turbulent Fellow *Wilfrid* set it on Foot again, and violently push'd on so far, that a Synod or Conference was had about it, where the King, the Prince, several Bishops, and many of the Clergy appear. Now *Wilfrid* had subtilely nickt his time; for the King was wavering, the Queen and Prince sure on his side, and *Aylbertus* Bishop of the *West Saxons*, a stiff Assertor of the *Roman* Way, was then occasionally come to that Court. The King opens the Conference, and desires his Bishop *Coleman* first to relate upon what Grounds he Relied; The Summe of whose Answer is this, That he had Received the Tradition from his Forefathers, who had all unanimously observed it; That herein they followed *St. John* the beloved Disciple of our Saviour, and the Churches which he Governed; And that they had also on their side the Authority of *Anastolus*. Now considering how *Eusebius* relates Matters to have been long before Adjusted by *Poly carp* and *Anicetus*, (*viz.* That Charity and Christian Communion being preserved, each might follow the Ancient Customs of those whom they succeeded) Any one would think this so fair a Plea, that it might deserve both a Civil and a Satisfactory Answer. Yet *Wilfrid*, then but newly made a Priest, with a *Roman* Modesty puts the Fool upon the Good Bishop *Coleman* and his whole Party. His Answer is Related by *Beda* with all Advantage,

in which some things are true, some false. But it is Observeable, That he never tells them of any Missionaries from *Rome*, either to the *Britons, Irish, Scots or Picts*; He never tells them, that they had received the Faith by means of the *Roman Church*; He never Charges them so much as with Ingratitude, or to have fallen from what they had received; Nay, he doth not deny such a Tradition amongst them, but impugnes it as a too early Tradition, as more Ancient then he pretended to, or ought to be followed; And that they were ignorant of what was established in the Church after the Separation from the Jews; And herein lies the main strength of his Plea. But of all things insisted on by *Wilfrid*, nothing was so luckily urged, as that *St. Peter* had the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven. For the King, in no small fear that he might be lock'd out if he displeased the Porter, presently gives the matter on *Wilfrids* side. But all this nothing moved *Coleman*, who chose rather to abandon his Bishoprick, then forsake his Ancient Customs, and seem to betray the Rights of those Churches and Bishops, who had Ordained and sent him thither; And accordingly he Retires into his own Countrey, with many others, who were of the same Persuasion: And no doubt but *Wilfrid* and the *Romanists* were well pleased, that they had all to themselves.

XV. These Considerations amongst Others, do with Me not a little shake the Credit of those Stories, that tell us how *Phaganus* and *Deruvianus*, (or by what other Names they are Called, for they have not less then Twenty between them) were sent by Pope *Elentherius* to King *Lucius*, *Palladius* and *St. Patrick* by *Celestine* to the *Irish*; or of any other Persons pretended to be sent before *Augustines* time. I do not deny, but that there were such Persons, who were famous in their Generation, and did eminent Service in the Church of God; But the Assertions of all our Moncks, and as many more, will not half perswade Me, that these Men were *Roman* Missionaries; For who can believe, That these Men should come with Instructions from *Rome*, and yet every one of them should Agree to Establish such Rites, as were not only different from the Church of *Rome*, but such as the Bishops of *Rome* were particular Enemies to? If any Man say, that these Rites in opposition to each other, had not clearly obtained, even in *Rome* it self so early, so far as Relates to *Easter*, that early Contest between *Polycarp* and *Ariceus* confutes it. But if it be said, that though such Usages were settled at *Rome*, yet they were not averse, but that Others might be Taught and Practised in other Countreys, then that Bustle which *Victor* made over all the Christian World will not suffer us to believe this. But that those very Men, who were sent by the Popes to Convert the *Britons*, should Establish those Rites and Usages, which they knew he would never endure, is such a Riddle, as wants a better *Oedipus* then Me to unfold it; And it is somewhat strange, that in all the Contests between

*Augustin*

*Augustine* and his Followers, with the *Britons* and *Irish*, not one of these Men should be Objected to the *British*, *Irish* or *Scots*, that they should never be Check'd with Ingratitude to his Holiness; that it should never be said that they had been taught otherwise, and were fallen from their first Principles and Converters. It is very Rare, that the *Romanists* forget themselves so much, or are meal-Mouth'd in such Cases. And therefore it is not unlikely, that the Pope, in process of time becoming the bold Man, who Challenged the Command over all, the Moncks of after-times, oweing their Privileges and unjust Exemptions from their Bishops to him, in Requital made him that busy active Man, who had ever done all; And therefore when they heard or read of any People Converted by any Person, imagining that he must have Authority from the *Roman See*, they without scruple plainly Asserted, that he was sent thence; And their Fictions must now pass for Historical Testimonies. And then as to the Persons pretended to be sent, *Dervianus*, though Trimm'd for sound sake, and set off with a *Latine* Termination, carries the plain Marks of a *British* Name, and some write him *Drywan*, which the Critics may, if they can, make *Latin* at their leisure; If it were lawful to Guess in this Case, I should think his Name was *Durwan*. The like might be said concerning *Phaganus*, but I pass it by. But then after the Conversion of *Lucius*, how these Men should so readily find their way in *Insulam Avaloniae*, (*Glassenbury*) where had been a Retreat for the Religious ever since the Gospel had been Preached in this Isle, is somewhat strange; Perhaps, it was by Miracle, but it seems more probable, that upon Encouragement they came forth, or were sent from their Monastery, and having Accomplished their Work, either for Reasons to us unknown, or as a thing usual in those times, retired thither again. As for *Palladius*, from whence soever he came, it is cert in he died too soon to effect any thing Considerable. And for *St Patrick* though there is no small striving for him, yet the best Reasons conclude him a *Briton*; And though some sell him to the *Irish*, some to the *Britons*, yet it is most likely that he was Conveyed away young to the *Irish*, like *Joseph* into *Egypt*, where in his Affliction learning their Language, he was the better Fitted for that great Work, for which God had designed him. These Men all left the *British* Rites in force, and made further Improvements upon the Stock of Christianity, formerly planted in this Island, which things, (considering also, that they all along Claimed to derive from *St John*) are a strong Evidence, That this Island was both of Early and Eastern Conversion. And perhaps that may be some Reason, that there are so many *Greek* words in the *British* Tongue, and in the same Signification in both Languages, it being very likely that they might receive them from those who first Converted Them to Christianity.

XVI. This Digression will not easily be pardoned by some; And yet I shall  
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Adventure to follow it with another : for it were manifest Injustice to the *Gallican Churches*, to pass by that Christian Prudence and Moderation, which they steadily used during all their Heats and Controversies, between the *Romanists* on the one part, and the *Britons, Scots and Irish* on the other ; For, as if *Irenaeus* had left a double Portion of his Spirit among them, they did not think themselves bound to break Communion with any for these Matters, but did all they could to promote the Common Cause ; Those of the *Roman Way* were frequently Ordained by them, and indeed without their Help and Assistance at every Turn, they seem to have been able to do little or nothing in the Conversion of the *Saxons*, and yet at the same time they shew the same kindness both to the *Britons and Irish*, Friendly receiving their Bishop, Communicating with them, and if Occasion required readily Ordaining for them. But between the *Gallican and British Churches*, there seems to have been a more inward kindness, and more close Communion then ordinary ; And they seem to have depended more upon the mutual Succours of each other, then any other Churches. Hence we find the *Britons* Assisting in the *Gallican Councils* ; And when the *Pelagian Heresie* grew too strong for them in *Britain*, they presently have Recourse to the *Gallican Churches*, and receive Succours thence, *A Gallicanis Auxiliis auxilium Belli spiritualis inquirant*, saith *Bedæ*, (*Ecc. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 17*) And whereas Pope *Gregory*, in his Letter to Queen *Brunechild*, seems covertly to upbraid both *French and Britons* for not preaching the Gospel to the *Saxons*, *Woe* (he saith) *were desirous to receive it* ; (so that *Augustine* had no such hard Work of it,) I know not what better Reason can be given for the Slackness of the *French* in this Case, (who were then a Flourishing Church, and well stored with Men of Learning, Piety and Zeal) then their Resentment of that barbarous Usage, which their Old Friends the *Britons* had received from the *Saxons*. I will not Heap up more Instances in this matter ; but that which will make it no impertinent Digression is this, That the *Britons* were so inveterate against all Pretences of *Roman Authority*, that they would not so much as Communicate with them ; and yet at the same time the *Gallican Churches* held Communion with the *Britons* as Orthodox ; Now had the *Roman Patriarchate* then either by Council or Custom extended over these Isles, the *Gallican Bishops* for this constant Practice would have been Condemned as Schismaticks, or at least as *Schismaticis favente & adhaerentes*. But no such matter was ever Attempted, and however *Monkish Stories* have since involved things in darkness, yet it seems the Matter was then too plain to be denied ; Nor was the Bishop of *Rome* then got to that Height, as to deal with all Churches as he Listed ; so that here we have the Testimony of a Neighbor Church, (who were then well Acquainted with the *British Affairs*, and none of the meanest Churches in the Christian World)

World) for the Liberties of the *British* Churches for betwixt Six and Seven Hundred Yeares.

XVII. But now to return where I left off. The Contest with *Wilfrid* seems to have produced a Separation, and both Parties continued Resolutely in their own way, even unto *Beda's* days, who Flourished in the Eighth Century. 'Tis true, they got some little Ground on the *Irish* and *Scotts*, but that very slowly, and not without great difficulty, as may appear from *Beda's* Narrative of the Travel and pains of *Adamnanus*, (Ecc. Hist. lib. cap. 16.) But as for the *Britons*, though oppressed on all Hands with their Enemies, they not only Asserted, but Enjoyed their Ecclesiastical Liberties, and by *Beda's* own Confession even in his time, would no more Communicate with the *Saxons* then with *Pagans*. This Prescription is sufficient to secure the Right of their Liberties from the Popes pretence as *Patriarch*, as I shall presently make appear; But yet they lived in possession of these Liberties several Generations after, as may Appear from that known Testimony of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *Episcopi Wallie & Menevensi Antistite sunt Consecrati, & ipse similiter ab aliis tanquam Suffraganeis est Constitutus, nullâ penitus alii Ecclesie factâ Professione vel Subjectione*, i. e. The Bishops of Wales are Consecrated by the Bishop of *Menevia*, (al *St. Davids*, the prime See) and he likewise is Constituted by the other Bishops his Suffragans, without any manner of Account Given, or Subjection made to any other Church. And here by the way take Notice, That the *Britons* kept close to the true and most early Antiquity, in paying a just deference to him, who was *Episcopus prima Sedis*, without using the Names of Metropolitane or Arch-bishop, which were termes of later date.

XVIII. I was never an Admirer of Personal Quarrels, and therefore was never fond of being engaged against particular Persons; But that Arch-Traytor to his Countrey *F. Parsons* hath made such a Blunder and Bussle in this Matter, that it may seem needful to return a particular Answer to some things alledged by him; If scurrilous Language and Impudence be necessary Properties in an accurate Lyar, scarce any Man was ever better Accomplished: Only one Qualification he wanted, without which all the Learned have thought a Man can never dextrously Manage that Trade; for either he had a very frail Memory, or else thought all other Men to be very short-sighted, and would swallow down all his Assertions without any Examination. If a Conjecture of any Protestant fall in his Way, whether of any moment or not, he Teazeth it with all his might and cunning, and yet the greatest part of his Proofs are meerly Conjectural, and often very (roundless. He is highly Offended with *Sir Francis Hastings*, for saying, *That the first Teachers of Christian Faith in Britain, were rather Grecians, and of the East Church in Asia, then of the West Roman Church*. And for this he peremptorily says, *That there is no Author at all*, (3 *Conver. cap. 1. sec. 4.*) I will not insist

on it, that they were *Grecians*, they might be of the *Jewish Nation*; But with *F. Parsons* good leave, even the *Romans* themselves owe their Conversion to the *Easterlings*, either *Jews* or *Grecians*, for they were before them in *Christianity*; And considering the early Conversion of the *Britons*, it could come from none other, unless Travelling thorough the Western Parts of the World, made them of the Western Church and no other. And if he were living, I would desire him to tell me, what Countreymen *Simon Zelotes* and *Joseph of Arimathea* were, whom he himself makes great Instruments of our Conversion. Besides, the Feast of *Easter* was then Celebrated uncertainly, and the Controversie not risen, and not determined till long after: And it is an Argument that we were not under the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, because these Isles did not submit to their Determination. But afterwards, (*cap. 3. sect. 7.*) forgetting himself he Acknowledgeth, That *Coleman* Alledged a Tradition from *St. John* and *Anatolius*; So that his Saying will be true, when *St. John* and *Anatolius* can be proved to be of the particular Church of *Rome*, and Bishop *Coleman* and *Beda* to be no Authors.

XIX. He proceeds, telling us, That it is a Notorious Lie of *John Fox*, in saying, That *St. Beda* Affirmeth this Custom of Keeping *Easter* with the *Jews* to have been here in *Britain* in his time, as though all *Britain* had used it; whereas in divers Places he doth expressly Attribute the same to the *Scots*, that dwelled in the Island of *Ireland* principally, as also to some of them that dwelt in *Britain*, and to some *Britains* themselves; But all the *English Church*, (saith he) was free from it. Indeed it is a Mistake both in *Parsons* and *Fox*, if they thought any of them kept it with the *Jews* in the strict sense; For in that famous *Northumbrian* Disputation, their Enemy *Wilfrid* doth not deny their Keeping it on the Lords Day, but accuseth them with a false Account from the Fourteenth to the Twentieth of the Moon; But if there were any other some, who kept it the *Roman* way, I would know who they were, what were any of their Names, and in what parts of these Islands they dwelt? Here all Instances utterly failed the *Jesuite*, and therefore he subtilely passeth it by, never offering at any proof. But I need not insist on this, because I have already proved, that all the *Christians* of these Isles till *Augustines* time kept *Easter* the same way, and different from the *Roman*. *Beda* himself tells us, That *Wilfrid* was Confident, that his Doctrine was *Omnibus Scottorum Traditionibus jure Præferendam*. So that as Confident as he was, yet they were all against him by his own Confession, without any of *F. P.*'s Exceptions. And in the Beginning of the Dispute *Coleman's* Assertion is this, *Pascas hoc, quod agere solto, à Majoribus meis accepi, qui me hac Episcopum miserunt, quod omnes Patres nostri viri Deo dilecti eodem modo Celebrasse, noscuntur.* (*Bed. Ecc. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 25.*) As for his *English Church* being free (i.e. from this Error) nothing could be said more impertinent and ridiculous; For if he mean before *Augustine's* time,

time, his *English Church* were then all Pagans; If he speak of what was in or after *Augustine's* time, it is nothing to the purpose; for no Body denies but that *Augustine* brought in the *Roman way*; the Dispute is concerning what was the Practice here before; And now *F. Parsons* may take his Lye again, as being the true Father of it.

XX. Upon this false Foundation he frames this Trifling Argument, which he seems to make great Account of: *That the Britons can no more be said to be of Eastern Conversion, then a Man could say the first Preachers to them were Pelagians, because in Beda's time some Reliques of the Pelagian Heresie might be found amongst them.* To which I Answer, That the Case is quite otherwise; And if in *Beda's*, or any others time, the *Britons* had been found as unanimously Agreeing in the *Pelagian Heresie* as they were in the *Paschal Solemnity*, and no Footsteps appearing that it had been otherwise, any Man would Conclude, That their first Preachers had been *Pelagians*, or Men infected with the same Heresie, if they were not known by the same Name. And thus he ought to have laid his Argument to make the Parallel run true to the Reality of the Cases: But he was more Crafty then so, for that had been to Confute himself. Next, he triumphs over *Fox*, for saying, That *Beda* affirms this Custom concerning *Easter*, to have been in *Britain* almost 1000 yeares after Christ; Whereas (saith he) *Beda* was a much older Author, and died in the Year 735. Well, but what if all this should be done by Miracle? (without one I know not how it could) and *Beda* should appear almost 300 yeares after his Death to some drowie Monk, and tell him this Tale? *F. Parsons*, if it had made for him would have Hugg'd such a Revelation: But after all, it is only a mistake, if not, a wilful One; though *Fox's* heedless way of Expression gave too much Occasion for it; for his meaning is this, That *Beda* affirmeth *Easter* to be so kept by the *Britons* in his time, and that the same Custom continued after his time amongst them so long, as to be Practised almost 1000 yeares after Christ's time; And all this is very true, as shall appear Anon.

XXI. To Revenge this Wrong (as he thinks) done to *Beda*, he falls foul upon the *Magdeburgenses*, for making *Jeoffery* of *Monmouth* to live about 700 yeares after Christ. *Jeoffery's* Testimony indeed Gauled him forely, and therefore it was to be shuffled off by any means; Whether he hath done the *Magdeburgenses* Right in that thing, I neither know nor care. For their Errour as to the time of *Jeoffery's* Life doth nothing invalidate his Testimony. But if it were good before their mistake, it is so still, so that this is only Cavilling. Besides, though *Jeoffery* of *Monmouth* lived in the time of King *Stephen*, which is above 300 yeares since, and so is no Yesterdays Author; yet the Work it self is much older; For he was not the Author but Translator of that History, which was written Originally in the *Brittish* Language, and Accounted an Old Book before he was born, as *Lambard* and others have proved.

proved, and therefore the Testimony is more Considerable, and deserves a better Answer after all the *Magdeburgenses* Account, may Refer to the Matter of the Testimony, and Time when the thing was Transacted; not to Jeoffery's Life; and then it will be too Modest and too favourable; To less purpose is his time spent in proving Jeoffery to be no Cardinal. I should be prone to believe him, if I had no other Reason, but his Relating a Truth so prejudicial to the Interest of the Court of Rome; But if he was not a Cardinal, he might be as honest a Man; 'Tis certain he was a Bishop, and as such was a much better Man; especially if the Pope would suffer them to be what Christ and his Apostles made them, and not appropriate all that Authority to the *Roman See*, to a Share of which every Bishop hath as good Right and Title as himself.

XXII. At length, after a deal of Shuffling, Lying and Rayling, he comes to the Matter of Jeoffery's Testimony; And that he Answers easily, and so may any Man, who takes no Care to speak Truth, but only what may serve his Turn; He says, *There is not a Word in it of not Acknowledging the Pope's Supremacy.* I know not how there should, for such a Supremacy as is now Claimed, was not then Lick'd into form. He might have Remembered, that the Transactions there mentioned, relate to the time of Gregory the Great, then whom no Man wrote more fiercely against the Supremacy; Or, which is in effect the same thing, the setting up an Universal Bishop; Or if he had bethought himself of what he elsewhere tells us, That the *Britons* would not Communicate with *Augustine's* Converts, then Dogs; he might have made it a strong Argument for their professing Obedience, and Subjection to the See of Rome. In fine, he will have their Answer Amount to no more but this, *That only they would not Acknowledge Augustine's Superiority over them, seeing he was sent only to the English; And that the Authority of their own Arch bishop was not taken away by his coming, for any thing they knew, but remained as before* (3 Con-  
ver. cap. 2. sect. 14.) What pity is it, that *Augustine* did not better inform them? it seems they would have been a very obedient People, had they known the Pope's Orders, and been told the Truth of the Matter. But it is an unlucky thing, that when a Man with Working his Wits has devised an Answer that would do the Business, he should not have the Privilege to make it pass for Truth, unless it be so in it self. Now all this is spoken by a Figure called *Fiction*, which the rude Vulgar call Lying. For the *Britons* no more regarded the Pope then they did *Augustine*. I have already set down the Answer of *Dinethus* Abbot of *Bangor*, to which Jeoffery's words Relate; and he who will be at the pains to read it will see, That it is as expressly and directly Levelled against the Pope's Authority or Supremacy, (if it must be so called) as could be well framed. They impugn *Augustine's* Authority by denying the Pope, and own no Superiour but the  
Bishop



Bishop of *Caerleon*, who was to oversee under God over them, or (according to the *Brittish*) had the only Eye over them under God. And this they Confirm by their unanimous Practice, despising all Orders from *Rome*, and obstinately refusing all Communion with *Augustine* and his Successors. Yet this and more *F. Parsons* Chymistry can melt into Obedience, and an Acknowledgement of the Pope's Supremacy. At this Rate who can doubt of Miracles in the Church of *Rome*?

XXIII. In the next place he is highly Offended with the *Magdeburgenses*, for speaking so irreverently of Pope *Innocent* the First, and his Testimony, That all the *West Churches* were Founded by St. Peter, on his Disciples and Successors. And it is no wonder if Pope *Innocent* spoke out for himself, and it may go a great way, where they have not to do with such Hereticks as expect Proofs. If this be true, why has *F. Parsons* discovered some such First Founders of the *Brittish Churches*, as were none of *Peters* Disciples or Successors, His Forgetfulness sometimes doth his Holy Father as much injury, as the *Magdeburgians* malice; neither doth it carry any force of Truth; because by their own Confession there was a time, when *Easter* was not so exactly observed, as now it is, whether there was a Stated Church at *Rome* then or not, and that the Conversion of the *Britons* was at that time, I see not any better Account can be Given. To Help out this, he tells us of Two more Popes, *Honorius* and *John* the fourth, who wrote to the *Irish* to reduce them from this Error; But *Honorius* will do him small service, because in that Account which *Beda* gives of his Letter, (*Ecc. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 19.*) it is clearly implied, that the whole Nation was involved in it, and so we have a Pope on our Side to set against him that follows. His Pope *John* was scarce Pope then, at Best he was but Elect; And the Letter seems to come, (as I may say) from the Chapter in the Vacancy of the See; and of those many who joyn in Writing it. *Hilarius* the Arch-Presbyter, not *John*, is first mentioned; but for once let *John* have the Credit of it, and he then will tell us, That this Heresie (i.e. concerning *Easter*) was but lately sprung up amongst them, and only some few infected with it. But now how *John* and *Honorius* will Agree about this, I cannot tell; For once I will be kind to *F. Parsons*, as to try if I can make them Friends. The *Brittish* and *Irish* Usage was in this Western part of the World a great Singularity in those days; Now if *John* had a Mind to draw them off from it, who can blame him from speaking favourably, and representing the Matter as inoffensively as could be: The Way to Win Men is not to provoke them; and we sometimes seem not to believe, that a Man is so bad as we know he is, because we would not harden him with shame, but have a desire to make him better. But when Men purposely and designedly speak sparingly, their Words are not to be brought as an Evidence of the whole Matter. But the Truth is, they had little knowledge of our

State,

state, but by uncertain Relations; *Gregory* the Great himself, when he saw the *English* Children Sold in the Market, knew not whether their Nation was Christian or Pagan. *Augustine* even for some time after his Coming hither, knew not the Usage of the *Britons*, yea, even *Laurentius* his Successor had much such an opinion of the *Irish* as *F. Parsons*, till Time and Experience undeceived him; And therefore such Forreigners as were far more ignorant of our Affairs, we may justly except against as incompetent Witnesses, especially they being the very Men who taught these Men their Error, which their Eyes and Eares after Convinced them of.

XXIV. But now comes the Knocking Argument to this Effect; That neither *Damianus*, and others sent by *Eleutherius*, nor *St. German* and his Followers, who came twice hither to oppose the *Pelagians*, make any mention of this Usage, which they would have done and Amended it too, had they found it here, *Because* (saith he) both *Pope Pius* and *Pope Victor* had before Condemned it for Heretical. I could thank the Jesuite for this Argument, for it mortally Wounds his own Cause. I will not again dispute the Mission of *Damianus* or *Derutianus*, (or what other Names the Jesuite will give Him,) nor will I insist on it, that *Germanus* and *Lupus* were sent by the *French* at the Request of the *Britons*, and not by the Pope; But if that Usage was universally practised by the *Brittish* and *Irish*, and no good Instance appear, that it was ever otherwise, as I have already proved, and that it continued for a long time after; then it will unavoidably follow, that the *Britons* were not under the *Roman* Jurisdiction, nor thought themselves bound to stand to the Popes Determination: Yea further, that these very Men, whom he saith the Pope sent were of the same Mind, or else dealt very unfaithfully in making so stir about it. Nay, being the *French* Churches did Communion both with *Brittish* and *Irish* at that time, when they not only Maintained this Usage in opposition to *Rome*, but refused Communion with their Bishops; It is an Argument, that they neither thought the Bishop of *Rome's* Decrees did bind the *Britons*, nor that the thing was so Heretical in it self; For certainly they would never have so freely and Friendly Maintained Communion with them, had they stood in open opposition, and professed disobedience to their proper Patriarch. By this a Judgement may be made of the Rest of *F. Parsons* Arguments; I shall follow him no further. It is not the Observation of *Easier* which we dispute with *Rome*, but we urge the Practice of the *Britons* and *Irish*, to prove the Liberty of these Islands.

XXV. Now to avoid Tedioufness in this particular, having left the Ancient *Britons* in possession, we must suppose they held it, till it can be proved, they were ejected. Now the first (so far as I can yet find) who Attempted this to any purpose, was *Henry Deane*; and he being a Wise as well as a potent Prince, thought the Subjecting the *Welsh* Bishops to the Metropolitan

See of *Canterbury* might be a means to keep the *Welsh* in order, and so far as concerned his own Kingdom, he herein dealt not only like a Politick Prince, but even the Laws of the Church did Countenance him; But then by the same Act he submitted all the *Welsh* Bishops to the See of *Rome*, as things then stood, and so Completed the Popes Conquest of these Isles; which thing the iniquity of those times would either not afford him Eyes to see, or not power to prevent; Accordingly he prefers *Bernardus*, a *Norman*, and his Chaplain, to the Bishoprick of *St. Davids*; But Liberty and Power are both sweet things, and *Bernardus* being got in possession grows resty, and Asserts his Rights, and the Priviledges of his See; And here the Pope first got the Fingering of the Cause, so as to make his true Advantage of it: 'Tis true, *Bernardus* appeared Confident, and swaggar'd bravely; but in vain d'd he think to carry a Cause in the Court of *Rome* against the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Purse, and the Pope's Interest, when at the same time, and in the same thing he also Cross'd his own Kings design. There is no doubt but that his Holiness swallowed this long-look'd for Morfel with a great deal of pleasure and greediness; And yet the Sentence did not fully and quietly take place till a long time after, which possibly is the Reason that our Authors so differ in Assigning the time of this Submission, for the *Welshmen* could not yet forget what they once were, and upon all Occasions strugled hard to retain their Government amongst themselves; so that as Affairs went with the *English* this matter either got or lost Ground. If the *English* Power was at leisure to wait on the *Welsh* Men and awe them, then the *Welsh* Bishops were the Popes and his Grace of *Canterbury's* Grumbling Servants; But if the *English* Affairs were so involved that their Countrey had a little Rest, the one was as ready to Cast off the Ecclesiastical, as the other the Civil Yoke. And thus Matters seem to have stood Wavering till *Henry* the third, or *Edward* the first times; But about the thirty second year of *Henry* the third, (*Matt. Paris Hist. Maj. Hen. 3. page 715*) the *English* Forces so Harassed *Wales*, that the Ground lay Untilled, Cattel neglected, the Famine Raged amongst them; The Bishop of *St. David* died, overcome with Grief for the miseries of his Countrey, and the Bishops of *St. Asaph* and *Rugor* were reduced to that miserable Condition, as to beg their Bread in a Countrey wasted with Fire and Sword. But when Matters were somewhat Composed, *St. Davids* the Metropolitcal See of *Wales* was found to be so Impoverished, that it was thought a despicable Preferment for an Arch-Deacon of *Lincoln*, though *Thomas Wallensis* in Commiseration of his Countrey did accept it; And here the *British* Ecclesiastical Liberty seems to have drawn its last Breath, or to have given only some few Gasps after; yet if we place its Fall in *Henry* the First time, it will have lasted above 1000 years, but if in *Henry* the third's time, it will be above 1200. But henceforward till

till the Reformation, I think it must be acknowledged, that the Pope Rode in full Triumph over all parts of these Isles; And though in some Matters he Met with smart Opposition, yet he Exercised an Authority nothing less then Patriarchal. It remains now therefore to be enquired, whether this his Intrusion or Possession did create him any Right, or any such Right, but that the Churches in these Isles, as Matters then stood, might Reform themselves, and lawfully Re-assume their former Liberties?

XXVI Were it not that the *Romanists* make a Flourish with every little Argument, that seems to favour their Cause, as if there were some great thing in it, I should not think it worth my while to mention the Plea, from the Conversion of the Saxons by *Augustine*. For first, if it were good, that would give them but little Ground, for his Preaching seems not to have taken any Effect beyond *Kent*, the *East-Saxons*, and perhaps some small Matter in the *East-Angles*; As for the Kingdoms of the *Northumbrians* and *Mercians*, which were of greatest Extent, they were apparently of *Scotch* or *Irish* Conversion; Nor will this Claim in the least touch the *Britons*, *Irish*, *Scots* or *Picts*. But Secondly, if there be any thing in this, then such Zealous Christians as have gone out from any of these Isles, and Converted Pagans, would obtain a Jurisdiction for the Metropolitans of such Places from whence they went, in those Countreys; But if any of our Bishops should on that score Challenge a Jurisdiction in *Germany*, or other places, I am apt to think, that they would be well Laught at for their pains, and be esteemed very idle impertinent persons, if not worse used. We are therefore ready Gratefully to Acknowledge all those good Offices, which any of the Popes Predecessors have heretofore done for us, or he at any time shall do for us; But if for Others merits, or his own good Turns, he conclude he has gained us to be his Slaves; I think he Sells Kindness the dearest of any Man living, and we shall beg his Pardon, that we are not in Haste to agree to so hard a Bargain.

XXVII. As for these Isles, they having been truly and rightfully possessed of such Ecclesiastical Liberties, they cannot be lawfully deprived of them by any fraud or force. If another Man take away my Goods, and keep them never so long, yet if I can prove them to have been my Goods, and that they were fraudulently and forcibly taken and detained from Me, no Possession or Prescription can Create a Right to him, who by unlawful means is possessed of that which Apparently belongs to another; *de facto* indeed it may be otherwise, but *de jure* it never ought or can; And therefore it was a Sanction of the Twelve Tables, *Adversus Eum eterna Lex esto*. But the Canons of the primitive Church seem more carefully to have secured the Rights of particular Churches, then the Secular Laws have done the possessions of particular Men. The Bishops of those overgrown Cities, *Rome*, *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, began very early to make Use of their Reputation and Interest,

to Augment their Power and Jurisdiction; But as none other had the like Advantages, so none Traded with such Success as the Bishop of *Rome*; These were the Occasion of the 6th. Canon, of that truly Venerable, and so much Celebrated Council of *Nice*, where in Relation to the Right of *Metropolitans*, it is thus determined, τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔσθ' ἀκράτεον. And though the latter part of the Canon seems to Confirm to them something extraordinary, i. e. all that Custom could then fairly and clearly entitle them to, yet notwithstanding this Complement to Men then great and pious, it seems to have been made on set purpose, that it might be a Barr to their future Usurpations.

XXVIII. This will more plainly Appear, if we Consider the Eighth Canon of the General Council at *Ephesus*, which was Composed with a Design both to Explain and Strengthen the *Nicene* Canon; For overmuch Greatness is hardly to be Confined within Rules; And their Topping Bishops had been at Work again. The Bishop of *Antioch* had made fair Attempts to Seize the Isle of *Cyprus*, and the Bishop of *Rome* not only took his part, but by his Letters Condemned the *Cyprian* Bishops, as not wise in the Faith for opposing, and plainly gave the Cause on his Side, which had been enough in all Conscience, if he had been near so infallible or powerful then, as he is now; But when the Matter came before the Council, the Fathers without any Regard to the Authority of the *Roman* See, are quite of another Mind. This Act of the Bishop of *Antioch*, (which was the Ordaining Bishops in *Cyprus*) they stile, ἀθέτως ἐξ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δεσπότης καὶ τὰς κατόνους τῆς ἐκκλησίας πατέρας κινουμένον. An Innovation contrary to the Lawes of the Church, and the Canons of the Holy Fathers. And though the Complaint was particular as to the Province of *Cyprus*, yet they make it a Common Cause, saying that it was a Matter τῶς πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἀπείρητον. which concerned the Liberties of all Churches. They Compare it to a Common Disease, which needs a stronger Medicine or Cure; And then having Restored the *Cyprians* to their Rights, lest they should seem negligent of other Churches, and leave them open to Usurpers, they make their Decree General against all other Persons, who should invade the Rights of any other Church whatsoever, and that twice in the same Canon; so jealous and tender were they in this point. First, τὸ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἀναγκάσειν ὅτι, &c. That the same thing should be Observed in all other Diocesses and Provinces whatsoever, that none of the most Holy Bishops should invade any other Province, which of old time and from the beginning had not been under the Government of him or his Predecessors; But lest this should not be enough, they Back it again with another Sanction, ἵνα καὶ πάλιν τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συνόδων ἀνέλεον ἐκείνη ἐπιτάγηται, &c. It hath seemed good to the Holy and Universall Synod, that



the Rights of every Province, which Confirmed by old Custom have been Held formerly, even from the Beginning, shall be preserved pure and inviolable, and that every Metropolitan have free Liberty to take a Copy of their Transactions for his own Security. And here we have the *Nicene* Canon not only Confirmed, but we are informed what are those *ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη*, those Ancient Customes, which they would have take place. They were such, which were not only *ἀντικειν* but *ἐξαρχῆς*, not only of some time backward, but from the Beginning. And if these be they which must carry the Cause, I think the Churches of these Isles are or ought to be as safe, as ever were the *Cyprian*. For these had not then so much as been Attempted, when the other were but a small Matter from being quite Ravished, and had undoubtedly been swallowed up, had a General Council been kept off but some few yeares longer. But that they might more effectually prevent the Mischiefs which Attend such Encroachments, and the Detriment and Dishonour done to Religion by them, the Holy Fathers give no less then three Reasons for this their Constitution. First, *ἵνα μὴ τῆς πατρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐκλεισθῇ τὸ πνεῦμα*. That the Canons of the Fathers may not be transgress'd, it seems the Laws of the Church had been all along against it. But what of that? What are Canons to the Pope, who is subject to none. 'Tis pity he was not excepted: But the true Reason is, because the Fathers thought he ought not. The *Plenitudo Potestatis*, now so much boasted of, was not then thought of; Or if it was, durst not appear abroad, lest it should have ben Knock'd o'th' Head for a Monster. Popes themselves in those days pleaded the Canons, and were iudged by them: And this Canon hath a peculiar evil Aspect upon him; for it is directly contrary to his declared Opinion and Determination in behalf of the Bishop of *Antioch*. So that if the Popes now do not regard the Canons, it seems heretofore they as little regarded him. The second Reason of the Canon is expressed thus, *Μὴδὲ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἐξουσία ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκκλησιαστικῆς*. That the Pride and Vanity of Secular Power may not enter the Church, under a pretence of Discharging the Ministerial Function, which seems directly to point to that Saying of our Saviour to his Disciples, (*Math. 20 25*. I Cite the Original, because there is something peculiar in the words, which our *English* Translation could not easily reach,) *ὁὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατασκευασμένος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὡς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐκ ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν*. Surely if these Fathers had not a Grudge at the Bishop of *Rome*, they had a foresight of his Progress. For put together what the Bishop of *Rome* now Acts, and what, he Claims; And if that *Tyranny* of *Seculi*, which the Antients all along so feared, and bitterly inveighed against, be not brought into the Church by him; I will be bold to say, that all their Feares were Follies, and that it neither is nor ever can be brought in whilst the *World* stands. The third Reason

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ought to Affect any Man, who calls Himself a Christian. It is this, *Μηδὲ  
 λατρεύειν τινὲς ἐλευθερίαν καὶ μικρὸν ἀπολέαντες, ἢν ἡμῖν ἐδωρήσατο τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι  
 κρίνει ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ παντῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθερωτὴς.* Lest by degrees we  
 lose that Liberty, which our Lord Jesus Christ the Redeemer of all Men  
 hath purchased for us, (or bestowed on us) with his Blood. If so, our  
 Churches, in stead of being blamed, ought to be highly Commended for  
 defending this Liberty: And as he, who shall invade it, ought as present  
 to be discountenanced by all others, so it is to be feared, that he will have  
 a sad Account to make up in the day of the Lord Jesus, though he pretend  
 to be his Vicar. Now if Reason could prevail, here is sufficient; But be-  
 cause oftentimes Men will not be Ruled by Reason, therefore the Fathers  
 yet take a further Care to Compel them by Law, and determine in the  
 same Canon, That *ὁ δὲ πῶς κατέλαβε*, &c. If any Man do Seize anothers  
 Province, and subject it to Him, *πάντῃ ἐπιστρέψει*, That He shall Restore it;  
 And that they might take away all Pretences, they Conclude, *Ἐὰν τις μετα-  
 βάλῃ τὸν πῶς πῶς οὐκ ἀειμένους περιμένει, ἀκούει πάντων ἱδ.* That if any Man  
 should produce a Constitution contrary to what is now determined, it shall  
 be void, or of no Authority. Now if there be any Reverence for, or  
 force in a Canon, so carefully penn'd, by so Venerable a Council, then it  
 is plain, That we have withdrawn no Obedience which the Pope could  
 lawfully Claim, nor Cast off any Authority that he was possess'd of in  
 Right; For being there were then Churches in these Isles, settled under  
 their Bishops, according to the primitive Forme and Usage, and Owed no  
 Subjection to the Bishop of Rome, either as *Metropolitan* or *Patriarch*, as hath  
 been proved; then whatever Pretences he can now make for any Authority  
 over us, are by the Council determined to be void; And what Usurpations  
 soever he hath made, are adjudged to be Restored; So that if they have  
 no better Arguments then the Bishop of Rome's Authority as Patriarch, that  
 will do them no service here; but it will rather Appear, That we have pro-  
 ceeded very Canonically in our Reformation.

XXIX. Thus much will clearly Appear, That as the Bishops of those po-  
 pulous and powerful Cities, *Rome, Antioch and Alexandria*, were ever and A-  
 non making Inroads upon other Mens Jurisdiction; So the Three First Ge-  
 neral Councils were very careful to Fence the Liberties of the Church a-  
 gainst their and all others Encroachments. For as for the Second General  
 Council, which I have Omitted, any Man may be abundantly satisfied, who  
 will take the pains to Read *The Account of the Government of the Christian  
 Church*, written by the Learned Dr. Parker, late Bishop of Oxford; Yet either  
 Tyred with endless struggling, or over-born with power, or out-witted by  
 Cunning, or rather wrought on by all these means, the Fourth General  
 Council did plainly Amplifie their Power. For after the Translation of the

Seat of the Empire to *Constantinople*, the Bishop of that place by the favour of the Emperour, by the Power of the City, by the Assistance of Dependants, and by a lucky Opportunity offered from the New Division of the Empire, suddenly Starts up from a mean Suffragan to be the Second, and perhaps most powerful Bishop of the Empire. And now a Council Meeting at *Chalcedon*, just under his Nose, and Consisting mostly of Eastern Bishops, and many of them his Dependants, and where the Emperour some time Appeared in Person, and his Ministers all along bore a great sway. This he thought was the time, if ever, to get that done, which no Council before would hearken to; And to obtain a Confirmation of that exorbitant Jurisdiction, which that Ravenous See had seized in few yeares space. But in doing this, he is constrained to do Others Business, that he might do his own. And here first. we find one set over the Head of the Metropolitan, and an Appeal from Him Ratified by Canon; And thus the Bishops of those great Cities Mounted into Exarchs, afterwards called Patriarchs, and the Bishop of *Constantinople* got the best Share. There was doubtless no mean Artifice used in the Managery of this Matter; for it seems to be rather Slurr'd upon the Council, then Acted by them: And the Foxes themselves, the Bishop of *Rome's* Legats wer: here caught, and all they could do was afterwards to Protest against Proceedings in this Matter. But when *Leo* heard of it at *Rome*, he fell a Roaring at no Rate, not that he had too little, but that the Bishop of *Constantinople* had too much; He was in a bodily fear of such a dangerous Competitour, who on a sudden hid from almost Nothing Risen to such Greatness, that he was able to Cope with Him; And by the Grandeur of his City, his Interest in the Clergy, and favour of the Emperour, might in a short time be able to over-top Him. It is not unlikely, that *Leo* might think, that he could have scrambled well enough for Himself without the Help of any such Canon, and might possibly look on it as a Confinement. But whatever he thought, his Plea is clear contrary, and that he might depress the Rising *Constantinopolitan*, he is Tooth and Nail for the *Nicene* Canons, and the power of *Metropolitans*, which by the Way is an Argument, that it was not then thought, that the *Nicene* Canons Erected Patriarchates, as some since Maintain. The Issue of this Quarrel I am not concerned to pursue; But granting the Bishop of *Rome* to be here made Patriarch, you see he doth not care to accept it: But suppose him to be *Nichins Volens* invested with it, yet the Churches in these Isles were out of the Reach of it, and lived long after in their former state and freedom, and therefore may still Challenge the Benefit of the *Ephesine* Canon against Usurpations.

XXX. But now let us for once suppose, what can never be proved, viz. That the Patriarchate of the Bishop of *Rome* was Legally and Canonically extended

extended over these Isles; yet what Feats will this do for him? even under Patriarchates, (for they did not obtain in all places of the Empire) the power of Metropolitans was still Reserved; they still Ordained the Bishops of their Provinces; they did Convene and hold Provincial Synods, and determined Matters as formerly; Only whereas the Metropolitan was before Ordained in his Province by his Suffragans, now he was to be Ordained by the Patriarch, or at least with his Consent, and there lay an Appeal from him and his Synod. In short, the Power of a Patriarch Consisted in certain known Instances; but chiefly in Conjunction with the Bishops of his Diocese or Exarchate. Now what a pitiful shrivel'd thing would the Pope think this, if it were offered him? How would he fret and storm, if we should thus Admit Him, and Tye his Hands behind Him? And yet as Patriarch this is all he can Claim; But to Claim that and ten times more, where he hath not so much as a Patriarchal Right, is such a Piece of Impudence as none would be guilty of, but those who can blush at nothing. And therefore it will be best not to trust him, but hold our own as long as we can.

XXXI. Upon the same Supposition we may still proceed further, and Enquire, whether a Patriarchal Power do Entitle a Man to all he can Grasp, or lay his Hands on? Are we so fast bound, that there is no getting quit of Him, though he Command such Matters as dishonour God, disturb the Church, mislead Christians out of the true Way, and does Actually Tyrannize over Mens Souls, Bodies and Estates? Patriarchal Authority was first Instituted for the good of the Church, that Order might be preserved, Purity of Religion secured, all Persons contained in and held to their Duties, and Heresies and Schisms prevented. But now, if this Power be made use of against all these Ends, must the good of the Church give way to it, or it to the good of the Church? That it has been and is abused by the Bishop of *Rome*, contrary to all these Ends, might be fully proved by an Induction of Particulars, but that would lead Me into too large a Field; And I shall therefore Omit here, because it will be done hereafter, when I shall insist on those particular Heads, which prove the *Romanists* guilty of the Schism. Besides, a Patriarch is only a Bishop with an extended Jurisdiction; The Bishop is the highest Order in Gods Church, the Patriarchate is only an Ecclesiastical Gift or Institution, whereby the Bishop of a certain place is Entrusted with the oversight of more Churches for the Enlarging Communion, and securing Religion; Now if any Bishop go against the Canons, or teach false doctrine, or encourage lewd Practices, and preach up ill Manners, his Flock might desert Him, and joyn in Communion with such as were Orthodox: If a Metropolitan took such Courses, the Bishops of his Province might cast Him off, and Govern their Churches by themselves independently of Him. And if a Patriarch, who hath somewhat a greater trust, shall at  
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the same Rate abuse it, he ought the more speedily to be Renounced, to Avoid the greater Mischief and Detriment, which will otherwise befall the Church of God. Ecclesiastical Constitutions must give way to Divine, and when instead of serving them, they overthrow or frustrate them, they are *ipso facto* void and null. Let us suppose, that a Person were Recommended to the Pope to be Consecrated or Instituted Archbishop of *Canterbury*, besides the tedious Waiting and large Feeing that must be in the Case, his Holiness will have for Firll-Fruits, 10000 Florens, and for the Pall 5000, (for these were the old Rates,) And besides all this, to secure the New Archbishop to be at his devotion at all times for the future, will force Him to take an Oath, not of Canonical Obedience, but of Fealty, (for that they have brought it to.) Now perhaps the King may not be willing, that such great Sums of Money should from time to time be dreyned out of the Nation; And as much more Averse, that his Subjects should Swear Allegiance to another Prince, as thinking it prejudicial to his absolute Sovereignty, and inconsistent with the safety and peace of his Kingdoms. What shall be the Issue of this? Either the Person Recommended and King too must yield, or we must have no Metropolitican, and the King shall be Excommunicated. And if he continue stubborn and obstinate in the Right, perhaps the whole Kingdom shall be put under an Interdict; And so if your Purfes be not at the Popes service, and your Persons his Slaves, you shall not be suffered so much as to Worship God. Now is not this a fine Patriarch? And would it not be a great Sin to cast Him off, and serve God whether he will or no? This Power the Pope has used, this Power he still pretends to, and he that Claims an Authority against God and his Worship, who was only Entrusted for it, hath Forfeited his Trust, and fallen from the Honour of it.

XXXII. I shall now only Advance one step higher, and then leave this mighty Patriarch, till we Meet him again in another disguise. Let us still suppose the *Roman* Patriarchate to have extended over these Isles; Nay more, be it supposed that the Pope is his Holiness indeed, and that he could be accused of no ill Management; yet I doubt not but his Patriarchate hath of it self in course failed, ceased and become void, at least so far as Relates to their Churches; And that too, by these very Laws and Canons of the Ancient Church, which may seem to have Erected or Countenanced it. The Motives, Reasons and Ends of a Law ought to be well Considered, because it is not the Words and Phrases, but the sense and Meaning which is the Law: And therefore we commonly say, That *Ratio Legis Lex est*. Now nothing can be more plain, then that the Bounds of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction were Framed on purpose, that they might not interfere with the Civil Power; And as hereby the Church manifested her Tendernef and Regard to it, and the Subjection of her Members, so She Reaped no small Benefit by it. Hence the



the Limits of Jurisdiction in the Church followed the Divisions of the State: Where the Governour of the Province had his Residence, there of course the Metropolitcal Authority placed it self, and the Bishop of that City was he, whom the Apostles Canons, (*Can. 35*) call the First, to whom all the other Bishops of the Province are to have such a peculiar Regard, that they are to Act nothing of Common Concern without his Concurrence. And so after the Division of the Empire into Diocesses, suddenly rose up that Rank of Men since called Patriarchs. But by the way we must observe, that this did not take in all places. For in some Cities where the Vicars of the Empire Resided, were not of Strength, Interest and Power sufficient to Mount their Bishops into Patriarchs. Besides, the Bishops of the Church were exceeding jealous of this new start-up Power, as favouring more of Worldly Pride, then Episcopal Care, and therefore kept it out wherever they could: And the wary *African* Bishops made a Decree against so much as the Use of the Name; And great Reason they had for it, for it would be no hard Matter to prove, that by this means crept in those Abuses and Corruptions into the Church, which are now Maintained with a Pretence of Authority, and therefore the more Remediless. Moreover, as this new Honour was dangerous, so it was needless, for the Diocesses, though they seemed to swallow up, yet they did not destroy the Provinces; So that the Metropolitcal Authority remained still Suited to the Government of the State, and was much more safe and better Fitted to keep out Secular Pride, Vanity and Worldly Pomp out of the Church; And though it was thought requisite, that the Ecclesiastical should Comply with the Civil Government, so far as to be useful in the State, yet it was never thought needful to run it into all Divisions of Civil Government, so as to be prejudicial to the Church. But however, if those Laws of the Church, which Erected or Confirmed Metropolitcal or Patriarchal Power, proceed upon this Grand Reason, That the Government of the Church might be Agreeable to the State, then it is Apparent, that they never did immovably Fix such Authority to any particular places; for Alterations often happening in States that might be clear contrary to their designs; But the End, Sense and Meaning of those Laws must be this, that the Governours of the Church should always be careful, that the Limits of Church mens Jurisdiction should be made to Comply with the Divisions and Limits of the Civil Government, under which they live, that both may Sit ease, and be useful to each other. And doubtless, the God of Order never intended, that his Church should Fill the World with Disturbance and Confusion; which will be unavoidable, if those two Powers be always Clashing; If then such Civil Divisions are abolished, and the Government ceased or altered, for whose sake such Metropolitcal

or Patriarchal Power was Erected, then those very Laws themselves, which first Erected it, do in their professed Design, Reason and Intention, not only disannul it, but direct the Governours of the Church to establish or procure the Establishment of such other Limits of Jurisdiction, as may be more satisfactory to the State, and beneficial to the Church. Indeed, all these Supereminent dignities, whereby one Bishop was raised above another, were Erected either for the better Management of Affaires in the Roman Empire, or for the Grandeur of it; Or else sprang up by degrees for the benefit of those Cities, which were of greatest Power and Interest, in which thing *Rome* had the most advantage, as being the Imperial City, and giving Denomination to the whole Empire. But now that Empire being broken, and Resolved into several absolute and independent Principalities, other Measures ought to be taken, and for the same Reason, that such Authority was set up, it ought now to be taken down, or Restrained; And the Limits of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Confined within the Extent of the Civil Power, and Exercised for its Ease, Safety and Benefit. And it seems to Me to be a Matter not to be despised, that though the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament were written under the Government of the *Roman* Empire, and in the time of its greatest Height and Glory; yet the word Emperour, (so far as I can Call to mind) is no where to be found there. Indeed there is a Precept Relating to *Cesar*, by Reason of a particular Question, which determined it to that Name, and the word *Augustus* and *αὐτοκράτωρ*, (which Answers it) are Historically mentioned; But these (what use soever After-times made of them) were then Gentilitial or Honourary Titles: But the Name Emperour was that by which they then Ruled, and which Held all along, whatever other Titles or Distinctions were devised; And that I think is no where to be found in the New Testament, at least, not in that sense; Perhaps the word *αὐτοκράτωρ*, which mostly Answers it, was thought too presumptuous; However it is, the Security the New Testament gives them, is only by Commanding Obedience to the Higher Powers, or in the like Phrases, never mentioning their distinct Title. But though the Name of Kings was odious to the *Romans*, yet most of the Evangelical Precepts, which Require Obedience to the Civil Power, expressly direct it to Kings; so that they seem to be given not only with a Spirit of Prophecy, that that great unwieldy Body should fall in pieces, and be divided into several Kingdoms, but also with a special design to secure and oblige all Christians to Obedience and Submission to such Kings. And if we further consider, that our Blessed Saviour hath told us, *That his Kingdom is not of this World*; And that the Christian Religion teacheth Self denial and Renunciation of the World, and Requires all Christians, especially the Governours of the Church, to be of a most Humble, peaceable and exemplary Behaviour.

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This kind of Proceedings in its Government will seem most agreeable and natural to it; For the Business of Church-Governours is to promote the Interest and Power of the Gospel, not pertinaciously to strive for Jurisdiction to its prejudice and dishonour. If each Changes happen in Mundane Affairs, that by Alteration of the Bounds of Temporal Principalities, one Bishop gain and another lose; yet the Church of God lesseth nothing but hereby gains its Peace, and a good opinion amongst the Princes of the Earth; And Church-Governours have the greater freedom and more Advantage to do good. But the insisting upon Jurisdiction in another Christian Princes Dominion, is to take his Subjects from him; It ever causeth Disturbances, Creates Jealousies in Princes, and makes them think those who should be the best Christians, to be the worst Subjects; And for that cause to have the meaner opinion of Religion it self; It would therefore certainly be best with the Church of God, and most conduce to its happy Government, if this Rule were observed in all Christian Kingdoms, that the Jurisdictions of Bishops should Comply with, and Conform to the Divisions & Boundaries of the Civil Power. This was the true primitive Practice, and this the Bishops have ever been inclinable to, when they have been able to withstand that everlasting Encroacher the Bishop of Rome: Of which take this one Instance, Immediately after the Synod at Constantinople against Photius, a Controversie arose, to whose Diocess the Bulgarians, then newly Converted to the Faith, should belong. The Bishop of Rome (who never lost any thing for want of demanding it) made strong Claim by his Legats. Upon this Account there Meets before the Emperour in his Palace, Ignatius Patriarch of Constantinople, then newly Restored, the Vicars of the Eastern Patriarchs, i. e. of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, the Legats of the Bishop of Rome, and the Legats of the Bulgarians. But upon debate, in spite of all the Endeavours of the Roman Legats, it is unanimously given to the Constantinopolitan, and such a Reason along with it, as might have satisfied any Persons, except Messengers from Rome, who are never to be satisfied with any thing, but with what shall be acceptable to their Masters insatiable Covetousness, and boundless Ambition. For their joyn't Answer is this, *Satis indecens est, ut Vos, qui Græcorum Imperium detestantes, Francorum fœderibus inheretis, in regno nostri Principis ordinando jura servetis* So that though no sort of Men were more given to Encroachments, then the Patriarchs, yet of Five, (and those if I mistake not, all that were then in being) we have four to one who are for the old Rule, That Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction should be Suited to the Limits of the Civil Power.

XXXIII. What hath been said upon Supposition of the Patriarchship extended over these Isles, hath been Argued purely *ex Abundanti*; For having before proved, that it did not extend to them, we could not be bound to

submit to it; And though the Pope did by degrees thrust in and possess himself of a Jurisdiction here for a long time, yet from the foregoing Arguments it will Appear, that he was only Possessor *Male Fidei*, whom neither the Ecclesiastick nor Civil Laws will suffer by any length of time to prescribe; And therefore he was Canonically thrust out again. Hence it follows, That the Churches of these Isles are Accountable to no other Church, or Church-men as Superiour, but remain only in the dependance of Co-ordinate or Sister-Churches to all Others, who all are mutually bound to each other what in them lies to uphold Communion, and Acquit themselves of doing any thing, that may be detrimental or injurious to the whole; But for the Master of Government, Order, Reforming Abuses, and the like, the Power is in themselves: Others may Advise, but cannot Controul, unless the Universal Church of God be damnified by their Actions. And thus having found our Churches invested with a power of Governing and Reforming themselves; We now have only to enquire, how it hath been made use of, which directly leads Me to the Actual Separation and Reformation.

XXXIV. If any Man will set Himself to Examine a great Action, which involves variety of Matter, is Carried on thorough Multitudes of difficulties, Managed by divers Hands, and necessarily requires no small time for its Accomplishment; And then expects that in all Parts and Circumstances it should be without Exception; He may so look for such a thing in the Kingdom of Heaven; but if ever he can find it on Earth, I dare engage my self to be his Bondslave, and therefore unnecessarily to put ill Constructions upon Matters, to pick little Quarrels, to Call in every mean and slight Failing, and to Rave against the Miscarriages of particular Persons, though disallowed, this is only to sling dirt and calumniate, not to draw up a just Accusation. If therefore they cannot Wound our Reformation in the Essentials, Christian Charity would teach them to cover a multitude of small faults, and Common Prudence would Advise them not to strive to no purpose. The most Celebrated Theme upon this occasion is Sacrilege; And here even those, whose profound Ignorance suffers them not to stir a step further then their Guides conduct them, (and yet with a blind Obedience follow whithersoever they lead them,) can be not only Eloquent but bitter: But as for those, who have the Reins in their Hands, and would sin be Bidding us, never any Subject yielded Matter for More Tragical Exclamations; But if Railing against Sacrilege would do us any good, we are as ready to do that as themselves; We are so far from allowing it, that with sorrowful Hearts we bewail it, and openly Avow that we detest it; And indeed, of all other persons it is we, who suffer most under it. Some Benefices (if they deserve the Name) are so wofully impoverished, that they will

will scarce afford the Curate Bred; so that if for the sake of a bare Livelihood he do not give up himself right or wrong to Sooth up his Parishioners, every Plough boy will trample upon him, and they will set up some Mongrel Teacher or other of their own, on purpose to torment him. And again, we being destitute of a tolerable Maintenance for so great a stock, as the Universities send abroad amongst us, (which would be none too few, had not the Church been Robb'd of her Revenews) many discontented Spirits Fly over to the Church of *Rome*, not for Religion, but in Hope of Preferments, or through Vexation of Mind, or driven by want. So that this Sacrilege hath Fill'd their Seminaries, and plagued us with domestick Schismatics. In the mean time, that we suffer with patience the spoiling of our Goods, I think may rather deserve any Mans pity then blame: But for the Spoylers themselves I shall as little plead for them, as any Son of the Church of *Rome*: And I wish there were not too many, who are still Gaping after, and Work all their Wits in contriving how they may seize the poor Remainder. But however the Catholicks, (as they call themselves) ought to be extreemly wary how they accuse or point out the guilty Persons in this bad Case, lest they Condemn themselves. For if some such Parable as *Nathan* put to *David*, were offered to the *Romanist*, it would be said in the Conclusion, *Thou art the Man*. For let them deal fairly and ingeniously with us, and the most Considerable Persons who made such a squander of the Churches Rights, will be found to be Men who died in the *Roman* Communion.

XXXV. And upon this Account it seems strange to Me, why they should so strictly enquire into, and so nicely insist upon Matters done by *Henry* the Eighth, and his Clergy; for if it be with a design to Charge us with them, it is much the same thing, as when a Villain cuts anothers Throat, and as soon as he hath done slips the bloody Knife into an innocent Mans pocket. For who were they that yielded up or seized their Monasteries, and made such havock of Church Lands? Who were they that first set up *Henry* the Eighth's Supremacy, and Wrote in defence of it? Who was it that Maintained the Supremacy beyond the Seas in so gross a sense, that even *Calvin* Himself thought his Prerogative invaded, and was out of patience at it? These Men all lived and died in the *Roman* Communion; And if they were not *Roman* Catholicks, what were they? *Henry* the Eighth after the Assuming the Supremacy, was judged so good a Catholick, even by the Pope Himself, that he could find no Fitter a Person to Recommend for a Pattern to the Emperour. What Hercle soever there might be in detaining the *Peter*-pence, or setting up his own power, it seems he was Catholick enough in his Proceedings upon the Six Articles. Any thing they imagine to be ill, must be Ours; But make Enquiry after the Authors, and they are all their own: Methinks it should concern them to Acquitt themselves, before they fall.



fall foul upon us. Nay, if we proceed forward so far as to the Reign of Queen *Mary*, the Persons who had the greatest Influence on those Revolutions will be found Men of their own Persuasion; for except some few, whose Proceedings were more easily Answered with Fagots then Arguments, those on our part will not be very Considerable, throughout the Reigns of *Henry the Eighth* and *Edward the Sixth*; Searce any two Persons seem to be deeper dipt in Sacrilege, then the Vicar-General *Cromwell*, and *Dudley Duke of Northumberland*; yet how profound Hypocrites soever they might live, our *Oxford Church-Governor* will have them both Roman-Catholicks at their Death; Others, if they think it worth their while, may Contest it with him; But for Me he may take them both, and make his best of them. Only I think it a Reasonable Request, that since he will needs have their Persons, he would be pleased to take their faults along with them, and not accuse us for the Crimes of his Brethren.

XXXVI. But let particular Persons, whether theirs or ours, Answer for their own demerits; I can be heartily sorrowful for the Men, but never will be an Advocate for their Mis-deeds. The only Matters of any moment, for which we can be concerned, I conceive must be either Doctrine, Discipline, Worship or Government. Now though the Pope might think himself obliged to stickle for his profits, and above all for his Supremacy, yet the *Roman Catholicks* themselves did not think the Changes in Religion of such Weight, that upon that Account they should make a perfect Schism. For till *Felton* fixed the Bull of *Pius the Fifth* upon the Bishop of *Londons Palace Gate*, the *Roman Catholicks* freely frequented our Churches, and joynd in Communion with us: And this was no small time, for this was not done till the eleventh or twelfth year of Queen *Elizabeth*; So that a small matter would have made her *Catholick*, if she could have digested the *Roman Supremacy*; And though the *Remanists*, so far as concerned Religion, thought themselves bound to obey the Pope, yet the discreeter sort of them were not a little offended, that they were thus thrust headlong into so dangerous a Schism. For this we have the Testimony of Mr. *Cambden*, a Person beyond Exception, not only as he was a Man of Singular Judgement, and Learning, and a faithful and prudent Historian. But as being personally Acquainted with the Transactions of those times; His Words are these, *Ceterum hanc Bullam Pontificis plerique moderatiores tacite improbabant, quod nulla ex jure admonitio precessisset, & præcedentes molem malorum inde sibi impendere, qui prius privatim sua sacra intra parietes sacris secus celuerant, vel recepta in Ecclesia Anglicana sacra sine Conscientiæ Scrupulo adhuc non Recusarunt*, (*Annal. Eliz. ad Ann. Dom. 1570*) So that the Reformation was indeed made on our part, for which we wanted neither good Cause, nor sufficient Authority; But the Separation was made by the Pope; For had not He Excommunicated

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Queen *Elizabeth*, for what Reason the *Romanists* held Communion with us till such Excommunication, for the same it might have continued to this day, and no Schism made. But if this Excommunication had neither lawful Authority, nor just cause, then will the Pope be not only the Author but cause of the Schisma, and draw the whole guilt of it on him and his party. The proof of this in particular I will not insist on here, because it will be abundantly done in the progress of the Work, especially in the second and third part, if it shall please God that I live to Finish them. Only here I will leave this Choak-pear, which I desire my Adversary to swallow before he Attaque me, That whosoever undertakes the Defence of that Bull, (besides all other Extravagancies which he shall be obliged to maintain) must in the first place fairly Confess himself to be a Rebel and a Traytor as to Principles of Civil Government, and obliged in Conscience actually to be so, as often as the Pope requires, and of this the Pope to be the sole and uncontrollable Judge.

XXXVII. Having here slipped into the mention of Queen *Elizabeth*, it may not be altogether impertinent to Acquit Her of one dishonourable Scandal, wherewith some foul Mouth'd *Romanists* endeavour to Blast her Memory. If *Henry* the Eighth belonged to any, he was certainly theirs not ours; Yet in Handling the Reformation, they spare not to charge Him with all the indecencies true or false, which they can Rake together; But nothing is more exagitated then his two First Marriages, and that often in such fulsome and obscene Language, as is not a little offensive to chaste Eares. The Design of all this is, that they might invalidate Queen *Elizabeths* Title to the Crown, upon which score some ruder *Romanists* will at this day as familiarly and confidently call Her Bastard, as if she had been found in the streets, laid at some door in a Basket. It is well known, that she was a Person so excellently qualified for Government, that even living she struck Envy dumb, and made those who most implacably hated Her, to Admire Her? It might therefore justly move Indignation in any Generous Spirit to see every Ass spurn at a dead Lion. But if this were as true as it is false, yet if they would deal ingeniously, they must confess, that this could no way effect the Church, as to that Power Conferred on it by God, and that Authority, which doth always distinctly and entirely remain in it self; Only it may leave the Church destitute of any Legal Civil Sanction during her time; And if for that they will Condemn us, they may as well Condemn the Christian Churches of the first three Hundred Yeares, and then we shall not be much afraid in so good Company. But there is nothing but Malice or Ignorance in the thing it self, and the *Romanists* of all Men ought to be cautious in this Matter; because whilst they Fence with this Two-Edged Sword, intending to Cut Queen *Elizabeth*, they as deeply Wound Queen

Many,

*Mary.* Neither will the Sickly *Salvo* of the Popes Dispensation stand them in any stead; for it is not only we who deny that his Power reached to it, but the greatest part of their own Universities, gave it under their Hands and Seals. And indeed this was at that time so generally the Opinion of the *Romanists*, That the Author of Church-Government freely Acknowledgeth, (though little to the Credit of his Cause) that when *Mary* was Offered in Marriage First to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and after to *Francis* King of *France*, She was Refused by both on this Account, because they doubted of the Lawfulness of *Henry's* Marriage with her Mother, (*part. 5. cap. 2.*) But for my part I am not of their Humour, who take a pleasure in belspattering Princes; and to do it by our own, can be no Honour to our selves. I do not see, that anything Alledged, can be any real Prejudice either to *Mary* or *Elizabeth*, for the Succession to our Crown depends neither upon Canons nor Councils, much less upon Popes Bulls and Decretals, but upon the Constitutions of our Kingdom. And it was never yet doubted, but that King *Henry* was Married as well to *Katherine* as *Anne Bolen*; And if the Marriage was Sole nnized, the Children are Legitimate by our Laws, which abhor all thoughts of any such thing as Bastards in Matrimony. 'Tis true, our Laws permit and Authorize Ecclesiasticks to divorce such Persons, who Marry within the degrees prohibited, but yet suffer no prejudice to be done to their Issue. And if the Parents, though too near of Kin, were Legally Married, their Children shall succeed to their Estates and Rights in the same manner, that other Persons Children do, where the Marriage was without Exception. And it is very hard Measure to deprive a King of that privilege, which belongs to the meanest of his Subjects, especially in this Case, which may endanger to involve a Nation in Confusion and Ruine. Let King *Henry* therefore Answer for his own faults, what iniquity soever there might be in his Marrages, yet being Married, his Issue are Legitimated; And I doubt not but that *Mary* and *Elizabeth* were both in their Turns our Lawful Sovereigns, I will therefore prosecute this no further, save with a Request to the *Romanists*, that henceforward they would cease to set the Childrens Teeth on Edge with the soure Grapes the Father Eat, and be as ready to Acknowledge Queen *Elizabeth* a Lawful Sovereign as we are Queen *Mary*.

XXXVIII. I did once Intend to have thoroughly Examined the Matter of the Reformation, but I find that it would oblige Me rather to Write a Volume than a Chapter; And after all, perhaps, I should be accused of needless pains, for it hath been often and sufficiently done already; And all Answers contain only the *Crambe centies costis*, or some bold Fictions or tedious Triflings. Nor do I think that I can be Constrained to Answer for all that went before me: In this Church I was Born, Baptized and Bred; I had no Hand in the Making, Modelling or Altering it; Gods Providence cast Me into it, and

and I take it as I found it. And if as such it be defensible, I need concern my self no further. And therefore without troubling my self to Rake the Dead out of their Graves, I shall Consider our Church under her present Constitution; for if that will not Hold, we are gone without more ado; But if that be good, it is not ten thousand faults of Men, who are dead and rotten, that can overthrow it.

XXXIX. I have already proved, that the *Romanists* themselves made the Breach; And it may be more fully proved, if need Require. But two Schismatics may fall out, and both be in the wrong; And therefore that we may Appear to be in the right, something must be said to clear up the Justice of our own Cause; To this End I shall briefly Examine these two things, The Government and the Doctrine of our Church. Government will of course take in Discipline as the Fruits of it: And Doctrine will include Worship, because there is no Abuse or ill Practice in Worship, but it is Founded upon some Errour in Doctrine. Government seems to Me therefore to belong even to the Essence of every particular Constituted Church, because without it Ordinances cannot be discharged, Sacraments Celebrated, nor those things Performed, which they are obliged to do in joynt Communion, and as a Body of Men. That this Government be lawful and warrantable, it is to be wished that the Governours might be always good, but it is absolutely necessary, that they have Lawful Authority, and are rightly empowered to do some things, which other Men may not do. He who saith otherwise must with *Corab* and his Company lay all in Common, which the most Heathenish and Eritish Religions have ever abhorred to do; For this, perhaps, the *Romanists* will not much quarrel Me; But if it were for my present purpose, I could accuse him for being false to these Principles, by allowing the contrary in Practice. But to return to the Business, That Authority be lawful it is requisite, that it be derived from such, who were truly invested with such Authority; for *Nil dat, quod non habet*. And further, that they have likewise a Power or Authority to convey and derive it to others; for it is often Personally Lodg'd in Men, and Incommunicable; as Knights cannot make Knights nor Lords Lords; And therefore a Lawful Church-Authority must be such as descends from those, who received it from Christ with a Power to transmit it. Now I find not that our Saviour said to any but his Apostles, *As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you*, John 20. 21. And therefore from those Hands wherein they left it, with the like power to transfer it to others, must all Lawful ecclesiastical Authority come. The Way to Avoid this, is either with *Erassus* and *Helber*, (who learnt their Politicks from *Jeroboams* Practice) to place an Authority in the Civil Magistrate, or else with the Fanaticks to set up the extraordinary Call and Plea of an Authority immediately from God. Now though too

many of late have put in Practice *M. Hobbs* his doctrine, whilst they Rail against his Person, and others are drunk with their pretended Visions & Revelations, thereby Filling Mens Brains with Enthusiasm, and in many places making a Nullity of all Ordinances, yet these are not the Men I have now to do with, and therefore I will not here engage against them. And as for the *Romanists*, I think, I need not dispute it with them; for though they strangely doat on Miracles, yet I could never observe them either very fond of extraordinary Missions, or very free in allowing any Ecclesiastical Authority to the Civil Magistrate. Now if they will take us at this Lock, we are ready to Joyn Issue with them; And to prove, that we have a good Succession of Lawful Authority. They cannot fairly Refuse us here, becaus this is one of the Prescriptions, which *Tertullian* lays down against Hereticks. *Edam ergo* (saith he) *Origines Ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant Ordinem Episcoporum suorum ita per Successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis viris (qui tamen cum Apostolis Perseveraverint) habuit Autorem & Antecessorem, (de Praescrip.)* Now as for a Succession, possibly there is not any in the Christian World so strongly Twisted, as that of the *English* Churches. If some of the Apostles, and other Apostolical Persons being present in this Isle, and planting Churches; If Ordination from the *British, Irish, French or Roman* Bishops, or any or all of these could derive a Lawful Authority to us, we do not want it. We have more Ways of Conveyance, and consequently (of God) more Evidence of our Authority then the *Romanists* themselves; And if the Rest were laid aside, we have the same which they have, and so cannot have less; so little Reason had the Author of *Church-Government* to Conclude his Book with such a passionate Inveective against our *Antecessores*. Indeed, could that Infamous Fable of the *Naggs-Head Ordination* have been made good, it would have made a foul Breach in our Succession, if not, put a full stop to it; But never was a most malicious Contrivance more miserably Baffled; Several Learned Pens have not only cleared the Matter of Fact, but disproved the probability, yea, the very possibility of such a thing; so that if any thing more can, nothing more need to be spoken to it. If therefore any *Romanist* will still urge it, in this particular I shall leave him as a Man either past shame, or given up to strong delusions to believe a Lye. Their other Objections are of two Sorts, Either against the Legality or the Validity of our Ordination. But because Others have Answered them fully in every minute particular, I shall Content my self with two General Answers; First, That this Neglect or Oversight, (if any such were) of some Circumstances Required by Law, though it may make the Persons obnoxious, yet it doth not invalidate the Ordination; Our Laws Allow Persons to be Married only betwixt Eight and Twelve in the Forenoon, Yet if it Happen, that they be Married at Ten at Night, the Marriage is good.



good, though the Persons be punishable. Some Circumstances in the Managery of Ordination may be Regulated by the Civil Power, *i. e.* So far as it hath Regard to the State; But the Ordination it self, and the Validity of it proceeds from a Power so distinct from the Civil, that no Civil Authority or Sanction can either make or disannul it, And therefore such Objections which are made only against the Legality of our Ordination, do tacitely suppose the Validity of it; And so if they were true, are little or nothing to the purpose. As for the other sort of Objections which relate to the Validity of our Ordination, those indeed would be fatal, if they were sufficient. But before I Return my General Answer thereto, I desire it may be observed, That there is more of Interest then Matter in these Objections. For the Church of *Rome* hath such a Jealousie of this small Church, that they think not themselves safe while it is in being; Now if they could invalidate our Ordination, it would take away our Ministry, our Ordinances, and consequently our Church, so that this is a Blow at the Root. And therefore right or wrong they Resolve to stick on this, which may Win some to them, keep Others from us, and Alarm all. And though their Arguments be never so weak, yet being Managed by subtle Heads, they will Appear the more Considerable; because few Persons are able to judge of a Case of this Nature. But if we were reduced to that State, that they thought themselves out of all danger from us, our Ordination might easily pass. A pretty instance of this hapned in the time of the Rebellion. The Loyal Clergy of this Church, being either starved at home, or driven out into other Countreys, and little or no Hopes appearing, that they should ever be Restored; Dr. *Baſier*, amongst other places, (any place being then better then Home) Travels to *Jerusalem*; And after the mention of his Reception from the *Greeks*, he thus sets down his Entertainment by those of the *Roman Way*. *As for the Latins, they Received Me most Courteously into their own Convent, though I did openly Profess my self a Priest of the Church of England: And after some Valedictions about the Validity of our Ordination, they procured Me Entrance into the Temple of the Sepulchre, at the Rate of a Priest, that is, Half in Half less then the Laymens Rate; And at my Departure from Jerusalem, the Pope's own Vicar, (Called, Commissarius Apostolicus Generalis) gave Me his Diploma in Parchment, under his own Hand and Publick Seal; In so styling Me, Sacerdotem Ecclesie Anglicanae, & S. S. Theologiae Doctorem.* But there was no need to have Travelled so far for an Instance, it being well known that King *Edwards* Bishops were Admitted in the time of Queen *Mary*, without Re-ordination; so that it is not the Validity of Ordination, but our Non-submission to the Pope which lies at the bottom. It is true, that a Dispensation from *Rome* was talked of, but that was only a Blind. A Dispensation may Reach Circumstances, but not Essentials. If their

former Ordination had been invalid and null, they ought to have been Re-ordained; for no Dispensation, nor all the Popes in the World can make those to be true and valid Orders, which never were so in themselves. He may as well Build Castles in the Air, or Erect stately Palaces without any Material; as to make those really and truly to be Orders, which never were so; It is one thing to Dispense, another to Ordain; Seeing he did only dispense, it is plain that he accused them of no more than some Irregularities in the Circumstances of their Ordination, which though we shall not yield, yet I think it unnecessary to dispute, because not being Re-ordained, their former Ordination must be supposed good. 'Tis true, they very devoutly burnt *Ridley*, and one or two others, without degrading them as Bishops; And thence Conclude, that they were never truly such, i.e. They set up a Novel Opinion, and prove it by their own wicked Actions; And the proof will be good, when they are as infallible in Matter of Fact, as they pretend to be in Matter of Right. But it is no New thing for the Court of *Rome*, to make quite contrary Determinations as to the self-same thing, as their present Interest leads them. When Queen *Mary* first came to the Crown, and they wanted Help, then King *Edward's* Bishops are to be Invited in, and Acknowledged with the slight *Salto* of a Dispensation, that the Pope might seem to do something; But when they were a little settled in the Saddle, and could Ride over all who stood in their way; Then none of his Bishops were to be Acknowledged, who did not fully Comply with them; i.e. those who joyned with them were good Bishops; those who opposed them were no Bishops; though the Orders of both stood upon the same Foundation, and were either valid or null for the same Reason. But to avoid the tediousness of discussing the whole Matter, I shall now only Give this General Answer, That in this Way of Arguing they take the Course to undermine and destroy all Succession and Church-power; This I am apt to think, that many of them well enough see; But they think, that we either do not, or will not; and so they are safe enough, whilst it only serves to Route us. The Arguments whercon they lay the greatest stress in this Matter are such, as may with equal, if not more advantage, be returned upon themselves. 'Tis true, we are not desirous to Molest others, we wish Peace to the Churches, Reasonable things would Content us; and therefore we generally keep on the defensive part, and stand all their Attacks and Opposition. But if by such foul dealing they will continually provoke us, till we change the state of this Scribbling War, and bring it into their own Countrey, what Work will this make? For if they will Vouch these Arguments to be good against our Orders; And we prove, that they are of no less force against their own, or that we have other stronger Reasons against them, whither will they then go for Ecclesiastical Authority? their pride

pride and stomach is too great to Truckle to the Greek, or any other Church; or to Borrow any Authority from them; But if they should, they ought to Consider, whether the same Arguments will not follow them; yea more, whether divers of their Hot-spurs have not Carried them thither already? If so, all their Labour is in vain: And if their Arguments be good, all Church power and Succession is lost. This indeed doth not so fatally affect us as it doth them; because we for good Reasons deny those Arguments to be good, and so keep up our Succession and Ecclesiastical Authority. But what will become of that Church, or what Remedy is left for it, which obstinately maintains the Validity of such Arguments, when they are proved as valid against her self? especially it being a Church of that pride and ambition, as to scorn to own any Authority in any other Church, which she hath not more fully in her self. Now, if rather then not destroy our Orders, they will what in them Lies overthrow all Ecclesiastical Authority and Succession, though thanks be to God they cannot do it, yet it is Apparent, that they will hazard the very Worship of God, and shake the very Foundations of Religion, rather then be frustrated in their malicious Purposes and ambitious Designs. And this I take not to be any strong Temptation to prefer their Communion before all Others.

XL. As for our Doctrine we are willing it should come to the Trial; And I know no better Way to Try it, then by its Agreement with what was Taught by our Saviour and his Apostles; This is the Way *Tertullian* prescribes us, both for the Security of the Church, and Exclusion of Hereticks; For after some things premised he makes this Inference, *Constat proinde omnem Doctrinam, quæ cum illis Ecclesiæ Apostolicis Matricibus & Originalibus Fidei conspirat, Veritati depuandam, id sine dubio tenentem, quod Ecclesiæ ab Apostolis, Apostoli à Christo, Christus à Deo suscepit; Reliquam vero omnem doctrinam de Mendacio prejudicandum, quæ sapiat contra Veritatem Ecclesiarum, & Apostolorum, & Christi, & Dei.* And again speaking of Hereticks in general, *Ipsa enim doctrina eorum cum Apostolica comparata, ex diversitate & contrarietate sua Pronunciabit, neque Apostoli alienius Autoris esse neque Apostolici.* And then shewing how later Churches, or such, which shou'd at any time after be Constituted, might defend themselves against Hereticks, He saith thus, *Ad hanc itaque formam Provocabuntur ab illis Ecclesiis, quæ licet nullum ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis Adlocum suam proferant, ut multo Posteriores, quæ denique quotidie instituntur; tamen in eadem fide Conspirantes, non minus Apostolica depuantur pro Consanguinitate doctrine, (de Præscrip.)* Now let this be the Test, and in our Defence we say with *Tertullian*, *Posterior nostras res non est, immo omnibus Prior est. Hoc erit Testimonium Veritatis ubique occupantis Principatum, (de Præscrip.)* Now let them Charge us, if they can, with Maintaining any Doctrine, as of necessity to Salvation, which came not from Christ or his Apostles; and when they

they can prove that all these did, they shall make Me believe any thing. Only by the Way I cannot but take Notice of the difference between this good Old Father, and the present *Romanists* in their Resolution of Faith, or in the last Result, Standard and Trial of Faith. The One Refers us to what our Saviour taught by Commission from the Father, and the Apostles by Authority from Him, and to Examine Matters by their Agreement herewith: The other without more ado Resolves all into the Authority of the present *Roman Church*. The One saith, *It is the Way of Truth, because the same that Christ and his Apostles Taught*; The Other saith, *We cannot be deceived, because the Present Roman Church Voucheth it to be Right*. Now though for my own part I Adhere to the Opinion of the Father, and therein of the Ancient Church; yet I must Confess, that the *Romanists*, whether right or wrong, have laid their Plot well; for if they can once bring a Man to swallow this Proposition, *That the Roman Church is the only certain Rule and Judge of Truth*; Or, *That all things must give Way to their Determinations*; Then as for Particulars, his Work is done, and he is bound with an implicit Faith to swallow them all without any scruple, or the least Examination: Now this is sure and quick Work; but too quick for Me, who as a Christian lying under an Obligation, upon occasion to Render a Reason of the Faith that is in Me, would be willing to know a Reason, that I may be able to do so. That the *Roman Church* saith so will be no Reason, till she produce a better Charter for her Authority, then she hath yet done; And till I and Others can be satisfied by good Reason or Evidence of such Authority. For if a Reason be Required of Me, my Answer that Others say so will be none, unless I can convince them by good Evidence, that their Say-so is of sufficient Authority and indubitable, the Plea indeed of Indefeasibility were good, if it were true; But they rather urge that because it serves their Turns, then that they have any good Evidence of it: And the Father, who directs us to trace Truth to the Apostolical Churches, supposes that particular Churches may fall from it. *Sicut* (saith he) *Apostoli non diversa inter se docuissent, ita & Apostolici non contraria Apostolis edidissent, nisi illi, qui ab Apostolis desciverant; & aliter predicaverunt*, (de Præscrip.) The *Romanists* indeed lay their Scene wisely, they understand well enough what would do their Business, and accordingly fail not to plead what must do it with those, who Admit their Plea without proof; The Consequence or Building would be good, if the Antecedent or Foundation were sound: But you must not narrowly Examine that, lest a Rotten Bottom tumble all the stately Pageant down again. If the *Roman Church* be indefeasible by Vertue of any Promise made to St. Peter, then other Churches may use the same Arguments, and lay Claim to the same Privileges as well as they; And our own Church as much as any; For their own Authors, and particularly our Sworn Enemy Father

Parsons,

*Parsons*, say, that *St. Peter* Preached the Gospel in *Britany*; so that here we are equal, unless it make any thing for their Advantage, that he was so well used here as to Go off safely hence; But after his Return was Martyred there; And so *Rome* may Value her self for that which our Blessed Saviour upbraids *Jerusalem* for, *Killing the Prophets, and Stoning those that were sent unto Her*, (*Matt. 23.37.*)

XLl. This Matter will fall hereafter under a more particular Consideration; And therefore to Return to Doctrine, it may be Considered either as Positive or Negative. It is true, that all Doctrinae Resolves it self into positive Truth; That we Maintain any thing in the Negative is Accidental, and Ariseth from the Difference and Quarrels amongst Men; for when Parties cannot Agree, if One Affirm, the Other of course denies: In this Case, the Matter in Controversie being either Falshood or Wrong, if any Man Assert that which is contrary either to Truth or Justice, we are forced to go something the further about in defending them, by first denying and rejecting what is either false or unjust; but then this will terminate in something positive, which is the Foundation and Summary of all. As for Example, if in Opposition to the Practices or Affirmations of Others I deny, That Divine Worship can be Given either to Angels or Saints; The Reason and Ground of that Denial must be this or the like positive Assertion, That Divine Worship is Gods Propriety, and to Him only to be directed. And therefore that we Maintain some things in the Negative, is not our but their fault, in Asserting that which is either false or unlawful; And whether they do so or not must be Tried by Particulars, which I shall come to hereafter.

XLII. As to positive Doctrines perhaps the Difference is not very great; the Quarrel lies more in what we do not hold, then in what we do; It is not to be denied that we have much Truth, but not enough as they think; And we are afraid of more, lest it should make us have less; for many Matters which they would thrust upon us for Truth, are far remote from it; And should we receive them, it were the way to corrupt the Truth we have; There was a time when some of their Priests set themselves to Reconcile, (and without Allowance and Encouragement they durst not have Attempted such a thing) the very Articles of our Religion to a Catholick Sense, (as they call it,) though many of them were purposely framed in opposition to several of their Opinions and Practices. The Author of Church-Government, (*Part 5. page 206.*) hath discovered a Sense, wherein that great Grievance of the *Romanists*, *The Oath of Supremacy* may be lawfully taken, and that to no other Sense then what he fetcheth from the 37th. of our Articles of Religion; And why then all that Labyrinth of Discourse which follows after upon it, and serves to no other purpose but to Confound Himself and his



his Reader? For can it be imagined, that we our selves should take it in a sense contrary to our Articles of Religion? From our Book of Common Prayer might be Extracted a wholefom Body of Divinity; And it shews to the World both what our Worship is, and how our Worship and Doctrine Agree; And if this may be Allowed of, methinks we should not be Hereticks. Now what *Vincentius* *Parapalia*, the Pope's Legat, proposed to Queen *Elizabeth*, I am apt to think was known to few; For on the one Hand the Honour of the Pope was concerned, if he suffered an open Repulse; On the Other, the Queen, rhough she Admitted not his Proposals, was unwilling to irritate his Person, he being then very Kind and Civil to Her, contrary to the Petitions and Endeavors of many powerful Adversaries. But that some such Considerable Matters were proposed, that he was Jealous the Queen would think they would never be performed, or at least not long kept, we have some Reason to Guess from the Conclusion of his Letter, which is one of the Kindest that ever any Pope wrote to one. He Accounted a Heretick; For thus He Courts Her, *Sed hac de re pluribus verbis idem Vincentius tecum ager, & nostrum tibi Paternum animum declarat, quem ut benigne excipias, diligenterque audias, eandemque ut ejus Orationi Fidem habeas, quam haberes Nobis: ipsi, Serenitatem tuam rogamus.* (Annal. Eliz. part. 1. p. 48, *Mr. Camden* Confesseth, That he could not upon his own Knowledge say, what these Proposals were, and he believes they would never trust them in Writing, but as secret as they were kept, it seems they took Air, for he subjoyns this following Account, *Fama obtinet Pontificem Fidem dedisse, sententiam contra matris nuptias, tanquam injustam rescissuram; Liturgiam Anglicam sua Auctoritate confirmaturum, & usum Sacramenti sub utraque Specie Anglis permissurum, dummodo illa Romana Ecclesia se aggregaret, Romanaque Cathedra Primatum agnosceret; imò & hac curantibus aliquot annorum militia fuisse promissa.* (id. ibid. I cannot imagine with what Hopes *Pius* the 4th. sed Himself; Or whether he were better Natured then usually Popes are; But though after this the Queen would not suffer his *Nuncio* the Abbot of *Martinego* to come on *English* Shore, yet he continued the same Mildness towards Her; which being insufficient, *Pius* the 5th. instigated by the King of *Spain*, and being angry enough Himself, tries a severer Course, and Thunders out his Excommunication against Her; But that succeeded worse then the other: For it not only altogether Alienated the Queens Mind, but Completed the Breach, and made a total Separation in Communion, which had not been till that time; And it is probable this might make some succeeding Popes milder; for Bishop *Ba-bington* though he Refer it to a Pope after both the former. yet whence-so-ever he had it, he saith plainly, *That the Pope Offered to Allow the Book (i. e. of Common-Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, &c.) to Queen Elizabeth of Eternal Memory, if she would have taken it of Him, as so Allowed of Him,*

Him, (on Num 7) But what need of that? For as for the Use of the Sacrament in both Kinds, It is Christs own Institution; And as for our Prayers, being in the Vulgar or known Tongue, it is according to St. Pauls Direction. And if these two be not Authority enough without the Pops Licence, then have we not the Liberty so much as to serve God even according to his own Appointment and Institution, but how and when the Pope pleaseth; And so if the Devil at any time should be big enough in Him, it will be in his power and at his pleasure, whether God shall be openly Worshipped in the World or not. As for the Matter of the Book it is such, that (except some few, which all Men of any sober Communion never esteem'd otherwise then as Mad Men) Persons of any Communion in the Christian World may safely joyn in it. When any bring their particular Objections, whether *Romanists* or Others, they shall receive their Answers. As for the *Romanists* I am apt to think, that they would rather adde to it: But because we think those to be such Matters as would corrupt it; That must be Tried by the Examination of Particulars, which is not the business of this place.

XLIII. As for the Ways or Means of Coming to the Knowledge of the Catholicism of any Doctrine; I know but two whercon the Ancients laid any Strefs, Scripture and Tradition. The Sufficiency of the Scriptures as a Rule of Faith, or that they contain all Matters in themselves necessary to Salvation, we not only Maintain, but further say, That since God hath been pleas'd (for the securing us from the faultie of Mens Memories, the Misguidance of Mistakes, the Cheat of Impostures and the like dangers) to Cause his Will to be put in Writing, and Compleat the Canon of Scripture; The Scriptures are the only sure and infallible Rule of our Faith; And whatsoever is fetch'd from those Fountains cannot but be Orthodox and Right. Here is our sure Ancho-Hold, and in this the Fathers go along with us. *Nobis (saith Tertull. de Prescrip.) Carissimae opinionis est post Christum Jesum, nec Inquisitione post Evangelium. And Salian, (de Gub. Dei lib. 5. p. 67.) Si scire vis, quid tenendum est, habes Literas sacras: Perfecta Ratio est hoc tenere, quod legis.* Herhit Affects Citations may heap up enough to this purpose; Nor doth it do the *Romanists* Cause any Service; That many of their Authors speak so meanly and disgracefully of the Holy Scriptures; for some Ears do not well bear to Hear the Confess'd Word of God Contemnedly treated; And Mr. *Apulton* seems to Me to have been very impudent in Entitling Part of his Answer to Dr. *Tenison*, *A Confutation of the Doctors Rule of Faith*; for the Doctors Rule of Faith was no other then the Scriptures; And a Confutation of them would of all others be the Work for a Christian. If a difference Arise, Who shall Interpret this Rule: I Answer, First, That whosoever Interpreteth he is bound to his Rule;

And it is not therefore the sense of the Rule, because he saith it; but he is therefore in the Right, because he gives the true Meaning of it; If he speak his own, and not the Rules Meaning, he doth not Interpret but deprave. Secondly, I Answer, That if the Priests Lips ought to preserve Knowledge, and the People to seek the Law at his Mouth, then we have a Succession of Lawful Pastors duely Authorized, who no more depend on the *Romanists* then the *Romanists* on them; And so we stand seized of as good Authority to interpret Scripture as any they can justly pretend to; And that we use it more duely and rightly may appear hence, That we not only diligently use all lawful Means to come to the Knowledge of Truth, but Condemn all those ill Arts which obscure or corrupt it; We have no *Index Expurgatorius*, to Expunge or Alter any Passages in the primitive Fathers, or any other honest Authors, if they do not please us; yet by this one base unpardonable Artifice the *Romanists*, whilst they have been undermining the sufficiency of the Scriptures, have shaken the Authority, and weakened the Evidence of Tradition, and so disarmed the Church of her best Weapons of Defence; for certainly a Tradition is best proved by those, who lived in or near those times, when it was delivered; But how shall we believe their Testimony, when their Writings are daily Curtail'd, Changed and Falsified at pleasure? And had not that God, who takes Care of his Church, caused the Cheat to be discovered, it would have done more Mischief, then all the diligence and pains of all the *Romanists* in the World could ever have made a just satisfaction for. But this it is, for a particular Church to set up for Infallibility; which is a point that can never be gained, without putting out the Eyes of all at present living, and stopping the Mouths of all that went before them: For though I believe, that God will never desert his Church in all parts of it in Matters necessary to Salvation, yet he has not given her any Power over the Faith, but She is Tied to that and that alone which was at first delivered to the Saints; And if the *Roman* or any other Church, or an Angel from Heaven should teach any other doctrine, then what we have received, they ought to be so far from being regarded, that, if we follow St. Paul, they ought to be Accursed. That we Adhere to the Scriptures, the *Romanists* cannot justly blame us, because they themselves Acknowledge their divine Authority. For, see the Council of Trent doth. (*Sess. 4. decret. de Cani Script*) but they accuse us as too strict Scripturists, upon two Accounts, First, because we Admit not Tradition to be of equal Authority with the Holy Scriptures. Secondly, because we receive not several Books as Canonical, or of unquestionable divine Authority, which they have thrust into the Canon. As for Tradition and its Authority, I shall Treat of it more distinctly in the next Paragraph, and there answer this Accusation. As for the Canon of Scripture, we own the very same and no other, which the

the Church of God hath Handed down to us, after the Canon of Scripture was Completed: As for those Books Called *Apoerypha*, which the Council of *Trent* first made Canonical, it is Apparent, That we do not by that Title utterly Condemn them, but rather Repute them of an Inferiour or Ecclesiastical Authority; because we Read them in our Churches for Instruction of Manners, and inciting to good Living; And sometimes use them for the Illustration of Doctrine, but never to Introduce or Found any Doctrine upon, and this is as much as the Ancients allowed them. The Jewish Church was the Keeper and Preserver of the Canon of the Old Testament, as much as the Christian is of the Old and New now: But they had none of those Books in their Canon; And therefore if any Assert, that those Books do belong to the Canon, the Consequence will be, That the Jewish Church did not preserve the Canon of Scripture entire and true, and for the same Reason any one may suspect the Christian, and surrender the Authority of the whole dubious: So injurious are the *Romanists* to the Faith it self, whilst they set up their own Authority against the whole Church of God. Besides, if they will not own, that we received the entire Canon of the Old Testament from the Jewish Church, they ought to tell us from whom we did receive it, and to whose Custody it was Committed till the time of Christ and his Apostles? But whoever will be at the pains to read the *Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture*, Written by our Learned Dr. *Cosins* Bishop of *Duresme*, will be abundantly satisfied, that the *Idicentines* under pretence of Tradition have Enlarged the Canon of Scripture, contrary to the Tradition of the Church of God in all Ages, even to their own time. Thus when Modern Mens bare word must be allowed a sufficient Authority to Vouch a Tradition, a Pretence of Tradition is set up against the truth of it, and so Tradition it self rendred doubtful or useless; And therefore I shall not trouble my self to pursue those many particular shuffling pleas, which they use to Justify themselves in offering violence to the Sacred Canon; But if you would know the true Reason, which it was their Business to Conceal; I believe *Spalato* hath Hit on it, *Suas non poterant Nanius ex Sacra Scriptura verè Canonica probare, ideoque noluerunt permittere, ut sibi alia Scriptura etiam non Canonica eriperentur, quo suas qualescunque habere pharetras, unde spicula desumerent, ac præterea viderent, ac præterea ne viderentur re in aliquâ Protestantibus cedere aut consentire, maluerunt etiam falsa tueri & desinere.* (de Repub. Ecc. lib. 7. cap. 1. Num. 28.)

XLIV. He that doth believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God, must of course believe their Sufficiency, or that they contain all Matters necessary to Salvation, for they give this Testimony to themselves: And he that believes them to be the Word of God, must believe the Testimony they give either of themselves or others; St. Paul saith, *They are able to make*

*Alas wiser to Salvator;* (2 Tim. 3. 15. 16.) But that cannot be so, unless they contain at least all things necessary thereto; But though the Scriptures be thus sufficient, and contain a certain Sense in themselves, yet by reason of the distance of time, when they were Wrote, through Unskilfulness in Oriental Customs and Phrases where they were Wrote, through Ignorance of some particular Tenets, which some Argumentative part of Scripture is Levelled against, and such like Causes; But above all, through the Perverseness of evil Men and Seducers, it so falls out, That those Scriptures which are of a certain Sense, yea, plain in themselves, are made obicure to us; and we either become doubtful of their Meaning, or follow a wrong Meaning: For what is, or can there be so plain and easie, which some wicked Men have not or cannot render intricate and perplexed, especially to weak Judges and facile Tempers? Now for the Discovery of the true Sense of Scripture in this Case, true and genuine Tradition is possibly the best Help and surest Refuge, and to Wrest the Scriptures out of the Hands of Hereticks, and Restore the Rule to its true Force, right Use and proper Meaning, perhaps there is not a surer nor more effectual way; for our Blessed Saviour Himself Wrote nothing, or at least nothing which he designed to be a perpetual Standard and Rule to all his Followers; It is said indeed, (*John 8. 5.*) *That He Wrote with his Finger on the Ground*: But what that was no Body can tell. *Eusebius* indeed Records an Epistle of his to *Abrams*; but if the Story be true, (and I have no mind to derogate from the Reputation of so Learned and Industrious an Historian) yet it was to a particular Person, in Answer to a particular Request; And the principal Contents are a Promise, *That after his Death one of his Disciples should come, and both Cure and Instruct Him*; Nor was it ever Accounted as any part of Canonical Scripture. The Apostles indeed being Led by the Spirit into all Truth, not only taught it to the then present Age, but Committed it to Writing for the benefit of Posterity; But then they Wrote nothing contrary or disagreeing with what they preach'd and taught, both before and after they wrote. And there is no doubt, but that those Doctrines which they Comprized summarily in the Scripture, were expounded more fully in their daily Conversation, and continued discharge of their Ministerial Function. If therefore any doubt or Controversie did Arise concerning the Meaning of Scripture, there could be no better way to determine it, then by enquiring in what Sense those Churches understood it, which the Apostles had planted, & whereupon all Occasions they at large Explained themselves; for it is certain, That the Apostles best knew their own Meaning; And when they were no longer living to tell it, let witty or wicked Men make never such a Buile or fair Shew, it will be very difficult to persuade any sober Men, but that those must needs best know their Meaning, to whom the Apostles themselves most amply dis-

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covered it. Now it being the great Business of Hereticks to corrupt the Scriptures, and wrest them to a wrong sense, that they might seem to have a sufficient Authority patronizing their Errors; When it so hapned, the Ancient Church usually declined the Nice Way of Cavilling and Captious Disputes, and fell to enquire what was the Doctrine and Sense of the Apostolick Churches; for it could not be but that these, to whom the Apostles had preached all their days, must better understand their Meaning, then any Upstarts who followed their own Imaginations, and were fond of New and pestilent Notions; And by this means they not only Silenced Hereticks, but wrung the Scriptures and the Interpretations of Them out of their Hands, and then turned them against them, And whilst Apostolical Men were living, this was a sure Way; And so far as such Tradition can be proved to have been preserved genuine and true, it is still a good Way: And when the *Romanists* have endeavoured to bring the Cause to this Issue, I think they have had no great Cause to boast of their Gains, Witness (to avoid Naming many) the Controversie Managed by Bishop *Jewel* and *Harding*. But then as to Tradition these Cautions would be observed. 1. That this is no prejudice to the Scriptures, being the only sufficient Rule of Faith; for though the Apostles wrote and taught the same things, and so both were alike a Rule to the then living Persons; yet when those things were put in Writing, it was for this very Reason, *That a Sure and Certain Rule might be Preserved for Posterity*; For Tradition might in time be mistaken, forgotten or corrupted; But the Scriptures would remain unalterable. So that the Scriptures are the Rule to us, though there are many Helps to lead us to their true Meaning, of which perhaps genuine Tradition is none of the worst. But this makes nothing against the perfection and sufficiency of the Scriptures, which contain all things necessary to Salvation, though they do not find us Eyes to see, nor Ears to hear, nor Brains to Consider; though God doth all this, and all other Helps abundantly. All Arts and Sciences are supposed to be Complete in themselves, and to contain Rules sufficient to instruct a Man in them; And yet some of the Noblest of them can never be thoroughly Attained, unless a Man be first Instructed in the Rudiments of some other Arts or Sciences preliminary, and preparatory to them. But the Scriptures being the most perfect Rule, as proceeding from the All-wise God, and tending to the Noblest End, why should not Others or rather all be subservient to them? yet this is so far from making them less, that it argues their greater Perfection. Secondly, That nothing be Admitted as a Tradition, which hath not some Apparent Foundation in Scripture, for that being the undoubted Word of God, whatever is not Agreeable thereto, much more whatsoever is contrary to it, ought never to be admitted. But by Reason of our own Weakness, or Others Forwardness,

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the Rule in some Cases being not so clear, a true primitive Tradition, in relation to Matters contained in Scripture, may be very useful to lead us to the true Sense, as in the Case of Infants Baptism, the Observation of the Lords Day, and some other Matters. For all the Churches of God from the first times, having Baptized Infants, and duely observed the Lords Day, it must be supposed, That the Apostles did unanimously so teach the first Churches, and consequently that those General Precepts concerning Baptism in Scripture, are inclusive of the Children of believing Parents; And that those Scriptural Instances of the Observation of the Lords Day, were intended to direct our Practice: Nor let any Man think, that the *Romanists* will be Gainers by this; for I will never deny any Truth for fear of giving Advantage to an Adversary: Whatever they can prove from Scripture, Expounded by such truly primitive Tradition, as shall be agreeable to the two foregoing and the following Cautions, I shall freely yield to them or any other Party. But if the Matter come to this Issue, they must lose all the most Considerable things, for which they Contend with us. I know they make great Flourishes, and pretend Scripture back'd with Tradition, for Purgatory and some other Fopperies; but what can I or any Man help it, if they will use the best means for the worst Ends? They know good Rules, but use them ill. For as for such a Notion of Purgatory, which they have set up, and such a Use for it as they have devised; as there is not any Footsteps of it in Scripture, so was it utterly unknown to the primitive Church; or if it could have been known, would have been Abominated. And if Men will have the Impudence to pretend without any colour for their Pretences, yet I will not forsake a good Course because they abuse it. Thirdly, that nothing be admitted as a genuine Tradition, but what was universally received, and wherein all the primitive Churches were agreed, according to that known Rule of *Vincentius Lyrinensis*, *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*, or (as he otherwise phraseth it) *Universitatis & Antiquitatis Consensio*. Nothing can be so plainly spoken, but the Weakness, the Heedlessness or the Malice of some Persons may mistake or corrupt it. Thus the Millenary Error sprang from *Papias* misunderstanding *John the Elder*; And his Authority again seems to have influenced *Irenaeus* and *Justin Martyr*; But this Meeting with Opposition in the Church, and being in the End Exploded, it hath only the Reputation of a very early Mistake, and serves well for an Instance to shew how quickly Tradition may be Corrupted, unless the Churches of God be exceeding vigilant. What the Apostles taught for the Common Concern of our Salvation in any one Church, they taught the same in all; and therefore unless they all Agree, that there is a Mistake is certain, whether there be a Tradition, or where it lies is uncertain; and so at least it is useless. But though here and there a Man might in some particular

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things mistake the Apostles, and by their means Others might be deceived; yet that all Persons of all Churches should clearly mistake the Apostles in any necessary matter, notwithstanding they lived so long, and daily to Labour in the Word and Doctrine, is a thing incredible: And therefore wherein they unanimously Agree concerning the Doctrine of the Apostles, no doubt but it is the best Exposition of the Doctrine in the Scriptures; the same things being written for our perpetual Instruction, which were at first preached for the benefit of the then living Generation. Fourthly, That Traditions be always deduced from the First Ages of the Church; for Traditions are received, not made; And if they proceeded not from Apostles and Apostolick Persons, they can never become genuine Traditions afterwards. What was delivered to the first Churches, though since neglected, lost or forgotten, was a true and genuine Tradition; and is so still, if it can be discovered; But if any thing be Vouched as a Tradition, though of a Thousand yeares standing and more; yet if it came not from the First Churches, it is not a Tradition but an Imposture; And such are most of the Roman Traditions, much like those of the Pharisees, of whom our Saviour saith, *That they had made the Commandment of God of none effect by their Traditions*, (Mat. 15. 6.) and yet they called them the Traditions of the Elders, (verse 2.) and stood then up for their Antiquity as stoutly as the Other do now. But (as *Tertullian* observes, *lib. de Prescrip.*) *Veritas mendacio prior est*. And therefore here we are to follow, not *quod Antiquum*, but *quod Antiquissimum*. Lastly, that a Difference be observed as to Traditions, according to their Nature and Rise; There are Traditions of particular Churches, arising mostly from the Orders and Constitutions of some Venerable Apostolick Persons, made and prescribed to the Churches, which they respectively Governed; These Claim a Respect, not only upon the Account of their suitability to Order, but also in Honour of the Persons from whom they came; but yet they oblige not other Churches. None indeed ought to condemn them, but they may lawfully either use or disuse them, as their present Church-Governours shall think Fitting for the benefit of the present Churches. Some Traditions are more Universal, as proceeding from the Apostles themselves; but if they be only concerning things in their own Nature indifferent, neither are these immutably binding. That some such were is Apparent from that of St. Paul to the *Corinthians*, (1 Cor. 11. 34.) *The Rest will I set in Order when I come*. But if any Man can certainly tell Me what Orders he made, *Erit mihi magis Apollo*: And perhaps the Apostle never Committed them to Writing, lest an over-great Veneration to Apostolical Authority should Run other Churches into an inconvenience; For those very Orders, though most wisely Fitted to the Church of *Corinth*, might at the same time be inconvenient for other Churches, yea, for the  
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very self-same Church in following times. For though some indifferent things must of Necessity be determined, because otherwise the Solemn Worship will unavoidably be disorderly and indecent, yet such Orders can never be so Fixed for all Churches, as to be of a perpetual, immutable and unalterable Nature: For Climates, Customes, Times, Persons, do variously alter the state of Matters; so that what is prudently Constituted in one Church, may be very inconveniently and indiscreetly enjoined in another; And therefore, though such Apostolical Constitutions deserve Veneration, as being unquestionably best Fitted to the then present Churches; yet it remains in the Power of Church-Governours to lay them aside upon just Occasion, and Constitute Others in their Room, as may be most for the good of the Churches. Again, some Traditions concern the Practice of the Universal Church, which obtained in all places, and these have their Ground and Warrant from Scripture; but their particular Determination from Church-Authority, which is still preserved to us by Tradition; Of this we have a clear Instance in the Fasts and Feasts of the Church, as Gods Signal Mercies require our Solemn Thanksgivings, for our own Sins, especially the publick, Call on us openly to Humble our Souls before God, and to give manifest Testimony of our Repentance; Besides, to tame our unruly Affections, and Fit us for the discharge of our Duty, Acts of Mortification are very requisite; To this the Scriptures direct us, and thereof gives us many Instances: But when this shall be done, (I mean publicly, for as to private Thanksgiving or Mortification, relating to Mens private Concerns, they may use their Discretion, provided that they thwart not the Orders of the Church) is partly pointed out to us by the times, when such Mercies were received, or Evil done; and partly determined by Ecclesiastical Authority. And this even Natural Reason it self doth so fully teach, that there never were any Men of any Religion, how barbarous soever, but they had their Solemn Fasts and Feasts. Upon this Account I was very sorry to find a Relation in Mr. *Ricaut* (*St. of Turk.*) to this Effect, That certain Fanatical Merchants of ours Residing at *Smyrna*, and some other parts of the *Turky* Dominions, being observed to keep neither Fast nor Feast, but to use every day alike, all Persons presently esteemed them as Men of no Religion, and look'd on them as Persons who thought they had no God, against whom they could offend, nor from whom they had, or might hope to receive Favours. But though these Men were of our Countrey, they were not of our Communion; And we are not to Answer for their ill Examples, who have forsaken us chiefly for this Reason, that they might take their full swing in Running a Whoring after their own Inventions. The most Ancient Feasts and Fasts are Appointed by the Constitutions of our Church, and Commanded by the Laws of the Land; If we regard not some in the *Roman* Church,

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it is because they are Apparently of later date, and introduced by their own Authority, which obligeth not us; Besides, we much doubt of the Popes Skill in discerning these later Saints, but more of his power to make them such. If it be observed, that our own Fasts and Feasts are ill observed among us; I grant it to be true, but I say it is not our fault; Ill Men and ill Times have been and still are too hard for us; and not to Complain of the too many Obstructions of Discipline, (without which no Church can long stand, much less flourish, which is the Reason that all Parties whatsoever have unanimously combined to hinder the Exercise of our Discipline, that by that means they might have opportunity, upon all Occasions, to make their full blow at the Church it self) though our Church hath had the Laws on her side, yet she hath ever had the Lawyers (without whom the rest could have done nothing) her Enemies, who have made even the Laws themselves either insignificant or hurtful to Her. I speak not of the whole Body of them, for there are many Honest and Honourable Persons amongst them; But there want not enough, who are sworn Enemies of Church-Discipline, and all Ecclesiastical Authority; who lay Trains and Snares for the Governours of the Church if they execute it; And if any Man be Constrained to defend the Sanctions or Rights of the Church, they will encourage Parties, and make Interests against Him, lead him thorough all the Courts in the Kingdom, till they have undone him; And expose Him as if he were the vilest Man living: They will neither suffer the Censures of the Church to take place, nor her Rights to be gotten; Nay, more I will be bold to say, that partly by quite discharging some Tithes, and by Erecting lewd Modus's and upstart Customes, and other Sly Tricks, they have deprived the Clergy of one fourth, of what the Bare-faced Church-Robbers left; And if they be suffered to go on at this Rate, they will in some few Generations insensibly Begger all the Livings in the Kingdom. Now what can we do against these, and many other powerful and inveterate Opponents, whom I will not Name? Our Constitutions are good; We wish and endeavour what we fairly can, that they may be kept: They must Answer it to God Almighty, who will not suffer it. But to leave Complaining, where we are like to have no Remedy, and return to our Matter: As to Traditions of Matters of Practice, distinction must be made between the Matter of the Tradition and the Circumstances of it; Tradition as to Circumstances may differ in different places, and may be Altered by the Power of the Church. Thus as to the Feast of *Easter*, all Agreed in the Tradition, that it was to be observed; But divers Churches disagreed about the time of its Observation, so that whilst some were Fasting, and had not Compleated their *Lent*, others had Entred upon the Feast of *Easter*; Here the Church interposed her Authority, and to prevent Disorder and Confusion, reduced the Observation



to a certain time, though it did not take place without a great deal of trouble, so tenacious are people of Ancient Usages, and therefore ought Governors to be very tender of disturbing them, without weighty Reasons. But then as for the Matter of such Traditions, which are genuine and truly primitive, (as of the Observation of *Easter*, and the first day of the Week, commonly called, *The Lords Day, &c*.) I cannot persuade my self, that even the whole Church hath Power to Alter or Abrogate them. What may be done in *Plenitudine Potestatis*, I will not dispute, because it is a thing I have no kindred for. For when Persons will be Judges of the Extent of their own Authority, they will be sure to Curve liberally for themselves; And when they will be Acting to the utmost Bounds of it, the odds is ten to one, that they go beyond them. Lastly, other Traditions there may be which relate to Doctrine, but this could be nothing but what the Apostles taught, and therefore must be fetch'd from those they taught it to; And so must be derived from the first primitive Churches; If it started up after, it was an Innovation not a Tradition, though older then *Augustine* or *Ambrose*: for there could be no Tradition but from the Apostles, and wherein the Churches immediately following them unanimously Agree as to their Doctrine; It serves well for the Explanation of the Sense of Scripture, as hath been shewn; But then it becomes not our Rule, though it is an excellent Help: for a Rule ought to be full, obvious and useful; He that will pretend it full, has doubtless an Aking Tooth at the Holy Scriptures, to explode them as Useless, and then he will leave us no Rule at all; for this pretended Rule is neither obvious nor useful as a Rule; For to fetch the Doctrines of the Christian Religion from the unanimous Consent of all the Apostolick Churches, is a Work for which not one in a thousand is capable: Nay, take twenty for one of their own Priests, and either they are not able, or shall not be suffered to Attempt it; And is this Fit to be set up for a Rule in a Matter of the Eternal Salvation of all Men, which the most cannot, and many, if they could, must not use? This and some other Reason I could give, make me suspect, that the Tridentines in defining the Scriptures and Tradition to be Received *Pari Pietatis affectu ac reverentia*, had this in their Eye, that under the pretended Authority of Tradition they might foist in those Corruptions, which they knew the Holy Scriptures would by no means patronize. But to leave this Matter, and draw a Conclusion from the Premises, if according to our Constitutions, (for we are not to Answer for the Miscarriages of any particular Persons) both our Doctrine and Discipline, our Government and Worship are good and justifiable, then we cannot be Hereticks: If the *Roman Patriarchate* extended not to these Isles, then the Maintaining or Re-assuming our just Liberties cannot make us guilty of Schism, as to his Patriarchship, but the

the first is proved, therefore the latter must be true.

XLV. I should now have done with this Matter, were there not one Tridle in my Way. Men, who are Resolved not to be Couvinced, will be sure to say any thing rather than be put to Silence. And so the *Romanist*, when driven from all his Posts, Cryes out, *You were once of the Roman Communion, and did Pay Obedience to the Bishop of Rome; There was a Coalition, and therefore there must be a Schism.* Now though the Answer of this is plain from what hath been said, yet some Men must be particularly Answered in every Impertinence, or else they will Cry up their Triflings for unanswerable Arguments. Whoever denied there was a Schism? Do not we bewail it, and heartily wish that Peace were Restored to the House of *Israel*; That all Churches held a sweet Correspondence, and all Christians might Communicate in all Churches wheresoever they came, without any Scruple of Conscience, as in the primitive times? But our Enquiry is, Who are in the fault? And that the *Romanists* are the guilty Party I have in some Measure proved, and shall do it more fully hereafter, if it shall please God to Vouchsafe me Life and Leisure. But to say the Truth, there is a subtil Gincrack in this Objection, which when they speak out runs thus, *You were once United and Lived in Obedience to the See of Rome, and are now gone off from it; What do you tell us of Corruptions, Faults or ill Actions of the Church of Rome; You cannot be safe till you be reconciled, and again United to it; because that Church is the Mother and Mystress of all Churches, and the Source of all Authority.* This is indeed a nimble Way to take for granted the main Matter in dispute; And if they could as easily prove it, as they are ready to beg the Question, it would go very far. But by the Way take Notice, how streightly she hath bound all other Churches in Fetters, and what a swinging Priviledge she hath Cut out for her self. Let her do what she will, all others must follow Her; Let her do never so ill, none must so much as Accuse Her. Let her hold here, and she is safe enough; It is well contrived, if these wicked Cross grain'd Hereticks would but believe it. They who Claim such ample Privileges, ought to produce their Charter: But when they come to proving, they produce nothing but such wretched stuffe, that Men are at a loss to return them an Answer, by being struck with Admiration at their Impudence. That other Churches have as good Authority as the *Roman*, is already proved, and shall be more fully in due place; And therefore this Assertion is an insolent Affront and Abuse to all the Churches of God. But yet I further Answer, That supposing some Preeminence did belong to the Church of *Rome*, that cannot Justify them in an ill Cause. If ever any Church should Claim to be the Fountain of all Authority, the *Jewish Church*, whether as *Mosaicall* or *Christian*, seems to bid the fairest for it. Upon that Stock (as I may say)

were the Christians. Grafted. What Preeminence St. *Paul* allows the Jews above the Gentiles, you may read, *Rom.* the 11th. and elsewhere; And what particular Respect all the Apostles had to the Jews, how forbearing they were towards them, how yielding to them, how tender of them, and how careful and desirous to Maintain Communion with them, the Scriptures every where Testify. But yet when they became obstinate, and spake evil of Christianity, even St. *Paul* himself departed from them, and separated the Disciples. (*Acts* 19.9.) Now we have cast off a Usurped Authority, and Reformed some insufferable Abuses; For this the Pope not only with the Jews speaks evil of us, but thrusts us away, and Curseth us. Let him pretend what Privilege he will, if we be Schismatics, we are Schismatics with St. *Paul*: And in so good Company we are nothing concerned, though the Pope and his Teazers Rail and Bark at us all the Way we go. *It must needs be,* (saith our Saviour, *Mat.* 18. 7.) *that Offences come, but Wo to that Man by whom the Offence cometh.* So deplorable Schisms there be, and perhaps more or less will be, till the dissolution of all things put an end to them; But then Wo be to that Man, who to Maintain his enormous Greatness tramples on his Fellow Bishops, and Tyrannizeth over all Christians, and unless they will buy Peace at his unconscionable Rates, will not suffer the Wounds of the Church to be healed, nor her Breaches made up: Nay, if they should yield to him, it might indeed be some kind of uniting like Brethren in iniquity, but then it would be only a debauching, not regulating the Church, so that it was not for nothing, that *Marcellus* the second, in a Silent Melancholick posture, Leaning his Head on his Hand, at length broke forth into this Expression, *I do not see it possible, how a Man in this High Dignity can be saved.* But let them look to that, for having put in an Answer to the Claim of the Western Patriarch, and briefly Justified the actual Separation, I shall now Examine, whether the so much boasted Council of *Trent* can do them any better service.

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## CHAP. V.

### *Of the Council of Trent.*

**T**HOUGH the best things, by the Frowardness and Contrivance of wicked Men and Seducers may be abused to the worst Ends, and perverted contrary to their Nature, to serve the most pernicious Designs, as hath been too often the Fate of Councils: yet it ought not to be denied, but

that General Councils, or others, are of greatest Use and Benefit to the Church of God, when lawfully called and duely managed, where serious, continued and unanimous Prayers are put up for Gods Assistance, where Matters are freely and fairly debated, and where not only the Intentions but Endeavours of the Parties, are wholly bent to discover the Truth of God, not to Gratifie any Party of Men. For if God have promised to be with two or three, who are Gathered together in his Name, Surely, he will not be wanting to the Governours of his People, and the wisest and soberest of Christians, when Met together, to discover to the Christian World the poison of Hereticks, and to serve the Necessities of his Church, provided that they take due Courses; And it is Agreeable to Reason, that a Considerable Number of good and able Men Assembled together in the fear of God, where Matters are freely and fully debated, and all Moral Industry used, should be better able to discover Truth from Falshood, then any single Person, or any small Number of Men. And where Men are satisfied of the Regularity of their Proceedings, though they should not be so well satisfied in their Determinations, yet the Authority of the Persons, and unexceptionableness of their Proceedings, would be an Awe at least upon all sober and Rational persons, and make them cautious of disturbing the Churches Peace. Nor doth it seem to be without Encouragement and Direction, that the primitive Christians in difficult Cases Fled to General Councils as their Sovereign Remedy. For the Apostles themselves set them a Precedent, and the first Council at *Jerusalem*, (though small, yet perhaps the most General that ever was) was a Pattern worthy Imitation. For though the Apostles had severally the Holy Ghost, and were the Persons purposely Chosen to make known to Mankind the extraordinary Revelations of Gods Will; and so might have determined any Question concerning any such Matter by their own Authority; yet the Quarrel arising between the Jews and Gentiles concerning Circumcision, and in the Consequence concerning the whole Ceremonial Law of *Moses*, though they knew that one great End of Christs Coming was to abolish it, to fulfil its Types, and set up a more spiritual Worship; yet the whole Church being divided by this means into two Parties, they would not determine the Matter till Met in Council together; that a full debate, and their unanimous Consent might give the greater satisfaction to all. And indeed their Proceedings are an admirable Copy, for all following Councils to write after; even they, who best might, do not Magisterially give us, their Naked Decrees and Definitions; for though they had the Holy Ghost, and in their Decree did say, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us*; yet they do not say this, before they had undeniably proved, that it did seem good to the Holy Ghost, and therefore ought to them. For *St. Peter* clearly proves, that God Himself had already

already determined the Matter in the Case of *Cornelius*; And then *Barabbas* and *Paul* as clearly proved Gods further Confirmation of it by Miracles and Wonders wrought amongst the Gentiles, whilst they Preached the Gospel to them. So that here was nothing left for Men to say against the Decrees of the Council, unless they would Argue against God. And though the same degree of Evidence and fulness of Authority do not Attend after Councils, yet it would be a great means to procure submission to them, when their Imitation of the Apostles, and Care of the Churches did Appear, by their Accompanying their Determinations with the clearest Evidence that might be.

II. Some *Romanists* will needs have every General Council (*i.e.* such as they Call Lawful) to be as infallible as that of the Apostles; but methinks they should allow some difference, if it were only for this Reason, That the Apostles did infallibly and fully discover to us the whole Truth of God in order to the Salvation of Man; All that come after them have nothing more to do, then to enquire after that Truth which they taught, and which Rests upon their Authority as Inspired by the Holy Ghost; And therefore certainly there is a great difference between them, and those who follow them, and are bound to build upon them, and are certainly in the wrong, whenever they depart from them. Infallibility is a word that sounds high, and promiseth all that Man can desire; And therefore the *Romanists* themselves would have it upon no other termes, but so, that they may have both the possession and the use of it. But when we come to look for this Salve for all Sores, we know not where to find it; for they themselves are so miserably divided, that they know not where to place it. And then how can we, or indeed they themselves, be any thing the better for it? Some say it is in the Church, some say in Tradition, some say in a General Council, some in a Council together with the Pope, some in a Council Confirmed by the Pope, (though these two last are often odly Jumbled together) and some say in the Pope alone, when he defines *pro Cathedrâ*, and that is a Mystery too. Now in all and each of these they entangle themselves in some palpable Contradictions, and woful Absurdities, that a Man might wonder, that ever such Learned Men should Appear in their Defence, did we not see by Experience, that extravagant Interest as well as great Oppressions often makes wise Men mad. The truth is, all these are set up as a blind, as shall appear in its proper place. And if their General Reasons to prove, that there must be some sort of personal Infallibility, be good, there must be another sort of Infallibility set up then any of these, and such as they themselves will by no means approve, and which none have pretended to, but the worst of Enthusiasts; And yet their Reasons must prove this, if any; Such lewd Opinions do Men run into, when they will take upon them to prescribe to God, rather then obey



obey him. And indeed it hath sometimes struck Me with horreur to see how boldly they tell us, what God must do, and how presumptuously they charge him with breach of Promise, as Neglect of his people, if he do not make good all their Contrivances; As if God were bound to do, whatsoever their working Brains can think fit to Advance their unworthy and unchristian Interests. No doubt but God will not fail on his part, if we neglect not our own; But to Tye Him to serve our humours or baseness, is to provoke Him to desert us in those things, which are really most needful for us. But these things I must not here particularly pursue, nor shall I engage in the Dispute concerning the Infallibility of General Councils, both because whatever they pretend, it is not that which they would have, as also because they have Received such Answers already in that Matter from *Spalato*, the most Reverend A.B. *Land*, the Learned Dean of *St. Pauls* and others, that it is now altogether a Needless Labour.

III. He that takes his Aim, though never so carefully, yet may sometimes miss his Mark; And if that should be my Misfortune in what I write in this place, I may in Equity expect the more favourable Usage. For though in a good Sense a Council may be said to be the Church Representative, as I shall shew anon. Yet I have Considered and Considered again, and can by no means Reconcile to Reason that Notion or Proposition, (in the sense which some Men take and Explain it,) *That a General Council is Representative of the diffusive Body of the Church.* For if it be so, it must either be by Institution from God, or Delegation from Men. But that God in any Case hath Appointed the whole Body of Christians to choose certain Persons as their Representatives, whose Acts by vertue of such Election shall be as binding, as if it had been done by all and every Man, I think can no where be found; for my own part, I could never see any Footsteps of it, or any thing like it. If on the other Hand, it be by an unprescribed spontaneous Delegation from Men, it must either be by the whole Body of Christians Met together for that purpose, or by Parts Assembled in particular Churches. The First, I think, if it be not impossible, is altogether impracticable, as the state of the Church now is: Nor was it ever put in Practice, when the Church being less, closer and better united, did not labour under those difficulties which now it doth; As for the second, it hath neither Scripture nor Antiquity on its side, and for that Little, which some may wrest to look that way, it is so very little, that it may thence Appear, that the Churches of God never thought it necessary. For though *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and certain others were sent up to *Jerusalem* about the Controversie between the Jews and Gentiles, (*Acts* 15. 2.) Yet there is not any Circumstance to lead us to think otherwise, but that they went by Order or Agreement of these Governours.

vernours of the Churches, (among whom that Controversie had been debated, but could not be finally decided, by reason of the turbulency of the Jews) and not by Election of the People: And when the Council Met at *Jerusalem*, though all Christians had freedom to Appear in it; yet when the Apostles and Elders are said to come together to Consider of the Matter, (*verse 6.*) they Met by their own Authority. And further, if a Council be so the Church Representative, that in Order to its being a Representative, it be necessary, that the Persons Appearing be Elected from the Church-Members of particular Churches; the Consequence will be, That the first four Famous General Councils were not lawful Councils; for they Met by the Emperours Summons, not by Election from the People; And therefore upon this Supposition could not be duly Convocated. Besides, if a Deputation of the People or Church-Members be necessary, let the Honour or Orders of the Persons deputed be what it will, they must Represent mostly as Laymen; for such are incomparably the far greater Number; But we read not of any Bishops Sitting in Council, but as Bishops, and subscribing as Bishops, and taking place there by vertue of their own Authority as Bishops, not by any Deputation; unless perhaps some Person Appeared for some absent Bishop as well as himself, or as the Legate of some Bishop; But then a Commission or Deputation from that absent Bishop was sufficient without so much as Consulting any Church-Members. I do not say, but that some Persons were Chosen on purpose to be sent to Councils, but then they were either such Priests or Deacons, as the Bishops thought Fit to take along with them, or were pitch'd on by the Advice of their Clergy. And we have a Custom amongst our selves, that Two out of every Diocese be Chosen and sent to the Provincial Synod or Convocation; And though it is Reasonable that some should be there, who by daily Inspection and Experience understand the Countreys Affairs, and the Circumstances of the Rural Clergy, upon whom not the least part of the Burthen lies; yet the great Reason is this, That the Determinations of the Convocation may pass into the Law of the Land, which they cannot do, unless the Convocation consists of such Persons as the Law requires, whose Acts must be Ratified by the King also to that purpose. But then those Persons so Chosen are only the Proctors of the Clergy, not Deputies of the People: And Canons for the Church might be made without them, though not Laws of the Land. And indeed the *Romanists* themselves, though they talk loud of a Councils being the Churches Representative, yet sometimes they are as dumb again, and willing to let it sleep, or to shift it off. When they have to do with private Persons, or such whom they Call Hereticks, then they talk big of their pack'd Councils, and what a Madness it is to withstand the Representative of the whole Church of God; This looks great, and seems to

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carry no small Authority with it: But if Discourse happen of a Council in Relation to the Pope, then they are as Mute as Fishes, or Mince the Matter, and will by no means be induced to speak out as to any such Authority in Councils of themselves. And it is well known, That the Tridentines were never suffered to use the Phrase, *Representans universalem Ecclesiam*, though many stickled hard for it, the Pope being in no small fear, that an Inference would be thence drawn, That any Member, how great soever, was Inferiour to the Representative of the whole Body of Gods Church, the Consequence of which might have been fatal to Himself. But the Question concerning the Right to, or Exercise of Authority in any diffusive Body of Men, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, perhaps deserves a more thorough Examination, then it hath ever yet undergone; And consequently, whether any can? And if any, then who and how far they can make a Representative? I may perhaps have Occasion to discourse of it hereafter, but shall not in this place.

IV. He that proceeds only in a destructive way, gives too much Advantage to Loose Wits, and in stead of Instructing unsettles weak Heads. It is therefore but just, that he who opposeth what he thinks a Mistake, should set down what he thinks right; lest he do more hurt by leaving nothing to build upon, then he doth good by discovering an Error, which perhaps might be harmless, if Consequences of too great moment were not Wire-drawn from it. If therefore we should say, That a Council, (*i.e.* as far as Relates to such Churches, whose Bishops Appear in Council) is the Church Authoritative; and in Consequence the Representative, as bringing with it all that Authority Christ left in his Church, and which he Lodg'd in his Church-Officers, by Vertue of which Authority they Represent, and not by any Deputation from the People or Church Members; I think that (with submission to better Judgements) it would be much more plain in the Explication, and facile in the Reasons of it; And thence would Evidently Appear the true Grounds of the different force of their Decrees and Canons. For in what Relates to Discipline and external Government, every Bishop hath Power to make Orders in his own Church; And when they are Met in Council together, for the Agreement and Harmony of Churches, and better upholding Communion, they may make Rules binding all those Churches, and in all things lawful and honest they are to be obeyed. For in their Hands God left the Government of his Church as a Church. And it is no less then an Apostolical Command, in reference to Church-Governours; *Obeys them that have the Rule over you, and submit yourselves, &c.* (Heb. 13. 17.) And this is so clear from the Practice of the primitive Church, that to bring a few Instances, were only to light a Candle to the Sun. But then those Regimental Rules or Orders were not binding to those Churches, whose Bishops were not there either by themselves or their

Delegates, and Consenting to them, though they were bound to observe them, whenever upon any Occasion they came to any of those Churches, on whom they were laid; And also had a Power to Receive and Confirm them, if they found them convenient for their Churches, and so to make them Obligatory *ex post facto*, though they themselves were not at the Council. And it is further Observable, That Constitutions of this Nature were never thought to be so unalterable and binding. But that not only following General Councils might alter them, but even Provincial Councils in some Cases might Rescind, what more General Councils had Appointed. For no Laws are binding contrary to their own End and Design. Now the End and Design of their Constitutions being the Peace and Benefit of the Churches, and for the most part in Matters of themselves by Nature indifferent or mutable; It can hardly be, that in all things their General Sanctions should Hit the Condition of all Churches, for Climates alter Men much; And the Humours, Inclinations and Customes of People much vary in different places, yea, not seldom in the same place, in different Ages. So that what is convenient, easie and useful in one place, may be inconvenient, uneasie and unprofitable in another. If therefore by Reason of the Condition of some particular Church or Churches, which was not well made known to the General Council, some of their Constitutions should prove to be really and truly Burthen'som and Offensive to such Churches: If there be no Prospect of another General Council near at Hand, a Provincial Council of their own, who understand their state and necessities, may Relieve them, by making other Orders more Fit and Practicable for them; but always with Honour and Observance of those Constitutions, where they do take place, and without any Contempt or disrespect, where they are laid aside, To this Effect is that Answer of our Learned Dr. Beveridge to his steward Observator, *Nemo nescit Synodos Posteriores saepe alia, nonnunquam & contraria constituisse ac quae prioribus constituta fuerant, idque licet Priores illae auctoritica sive Universales & Posteriores singularium tantummodò Provincialium Synodi essent, quod sexcentis, sine ulla esset, exemplis demonstrare licet*, (Cod. Can. Ecc. tri. lib. I. cap. 3.) In these things (if I mistake not) consists the greatest and most direct Power of Councils; for these things are to be received and observed by virtue of their own Authority. And hence it is Observable, That in most ancient Councils, the greatest Part of their Canons relate to Discipline and Government. And they never Cared to meddle with Matter of Doctrine, unless the Troubles of the Church and unquietness of Hereticks constrained them to it. And though in this Case, not only Men in inferior Orders, but even prudent Laymen may be Consulted with, and have liberty to Advise and freely speak their Thoughts, that the state of the Church may be the better known, yet the decisive Voice is in the Bishop: And that

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the Contrary Asserted by *Spalato* is a great Mistake; I shall happily have Occasion to prove; when I come to speak of the Nature, Power and Rights of Episcopacy, in opposition to the *Roman See*, whose Usurpations have not only diminished, but in a manner destroyed that Order, to the irreparable damage of Gods Church, and without the Restoration of which to its just Rights, I see not how the Church can hope for either Unity or Peace.

V: But though in Relation to Government and Discipline the Power of Bishops in Council is very great, yet in Matters of Doctrine it is by no means the same. For he that Committed to their Trust the Government of his Church, gave them no Power over the Faith. Rules for Discipline may alter, as Cases alter; But the Gospel of Christ Jesus must be yesterday, and to day, and the same for ever. No Monckish *Evangelium æternum*, nor Fanatick *Evangelium armatum*, must be suffered to thrust this out of doors; What Christ and his Apostles delivered to the Saints at first must be the Rule to the last: And therefore here the Business of Councils is not to Appoint but Enquire; Not to Constitute, but declare: They have no Authority to make us a New Gospel, or any New Article of Faith, but to discover the Old; And therefore here their Authority goes equal pace with their Sincerity, Diligence and Skill. And if these Qualifications be truly in them, and duly used; It is all the Reason in the World that we should Acquiesce in their Determinations, and that not only because we cannot have any better or more able Body of Men to decide the Controversie; But also because we have good Grounds to believe, that God will Afford them his Assistance; for the Promise made to the Disciples of being with them always to the End of the World, is not capable of any other Construction, but of his Affording not only to them, but to their Successors sufficient Aid and Assistance to preserve, discover, teach and declare that Truth and Doctrine, which our Blessed Saviour and his Apostles taught, and left with them to be taught to the End of the World, for the Salvation of Souls. And though even Laymen, as being all Concerned in the Common Salvation, may Challenge a Right to Appear in Council in orderly Manner and Number, yet certainly the greatest Authority lies in them, to whom God hath Committed the Care of all the Churches, and who must Answer for others Souls as well as their own. Where therefore the Pastors of the Church are Met together about Matters relating to the Necessities of the Church, and are Honest, Industrious and able; I doubt not, but that in Matters of Religion their Authority is the greatest of any Men on Earth. God, I think, would not suffer such Men, so qualified, to deceive us in any thing of necessity to Salvation, and therefore they are not lightly to be regarded. And if these things could be truly said for the Council of *Trent*, I should have a better esteem for it, then I am like to have in *Wille*. But on the other Hand, \*T



any Pastors of the Church, how many soever, though never so able and industrious, Meet together, and be not Honest and Sincere, but (at least by the prevailing Number) for base Interest, labour by subtle and unworthy Arts not to Amend, but Establish gross Errours, Abuses and Corruptions; These Men not only Offer the greatest Affront to God and his Christ, but Attempt to put the most pernicious Cheat upon the Christian World; And in stead of Assistance from God, they may rather expect, that in Judgement he should give them over to strong delusions, to believe a Lye. And these are to be Abominated, and with as great indignation Rejected, as good and lawful Councils are with Reverence to be received and followed. And in which of these Ranks the Council of *Trunt* ought to stand, I shall now Enquire

VI. And in the first place, it may not be Amiss, to Consider what time was taken to Frame and Mould this Council to the Popes Mind. The Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* having Eclipsed the Roman See in the very Height of its Greatness and Glory, the Popes ever since have looked with a malignant Aspect upon General Councils, and the very Naming one was enough to put any of them into a Fit of a Feavour; And indeed this made following Councils not only useless but noxious. For if the Necessities of the Church seemed at any time to Require a General Council, the Pope would never suffer it to be, but in such place that he could Command; And always took care, that it should Consist of such Persons, who at least for the greater Number were at his devotion; And yet even then was woefully uneasy, till it was Finished; so unwilling are Popes to trust themselves with a Council, though themselves have the packing of it. But that Spark, which first fell through the Clashing of *Luther* and the Pardonmongers, being blown to such a Flame, that no Common Help could quench it, a General Council seemed necessary: But to Manage it for the Advantage of the Roman See, and to hold it in convenient place was a Matter of no small difficulty in such times of Confusion; so that it seemed to be as dangerous to the Pope, as it was necessary for the Church. It was well for the Court of *Rome*, that the greatest Princes of those times were perswaded that it was the Popes Right, (though merely Founded upon Usurpations) to Call General Councils: For by this means they gained time to Fit Matters for their Turn; And yet though the most Refined Politicians in the World, it was not a little time did serve their Turn; For though the Popes successively seemed daily willing, that so they might stop Mens Mouths, and Gratifie their Importunity, yet was it not less then Twenty seven years before these perfect Crafts-Masters could Contrive Matters to their Mind, and then too they were rather Necessitated then willing, and in no small fear that their Wings would be Clipt. *Luthers* first Appeal to a General Council, which was quickly followed with the desire,

of all *Germany*, was in the Year 1518. But the Council of *Trent* did not open till the 13th. of *December* 1545. So long did this Compassionate Successor of *St. Peter* suffer the Wounds of the Church to Lye Bleeding, and at last only Cured them as Chyrurgions do Gangrenes, by Cutting off the Members. As for the Indictions at *Mantua* and *Vicenza*, I make no Account of them; for as it may Reasonably be suspected, that they were only Shams to gain time; so had either taken effect; it is certain it was a Device to keep the Council in greater Slavery, then it was at *Trent*, though it was so great there, that little good could be expected from it, as shall presently appear. And now after so long Plotting, having got something like a Council, in a frightful place, at a time when Christian Princes were most jealous of each other, and the Pope had Leisure and Opportunity to-play his Game; Let us enquire into its State and Actions; And if just Exceptions cannot be brought against it, let it take place.

VII. I do not pretend to bring all the just Exceptions, which may be Alledged against the Council of *Trent*; It is sufficient, if those few I shall bring; or any one of them be so material and to the purpose, as to Justify our Rejecting it. Now the first Quarrel I have against them is, that the prevailing Part all along carried on a Design to betray the Liberties of all the Churches, and the Power of all Bishops to the Pope, and to make him the absolute Monarch of the whole Church. And what good can we expect from Men, who were Traitors to their own Order? But though there could be no greater baseness and falseness then such a Design, yet it must be Confessed, that never was an Intrigue Managed more Neatly, or more Sliily brought about, for they never Offer to put his Supremacy to the Vote, nor by any express Canon or Decree declare or give it him; for that might have Awakened the Sleeping Bishops, and Alarm'd the World, and perhaps they might not have Carried it; Or if they had, yet what one Council gave, another might take away; At least he must have been beholding to them, and held it as their Gift, which would not do the Pope's Business. But more craftily, whilst the Council was intent upon other Matters, they upon all Occasions Slurr in such words into the Decrees and Canons, which though nothing to the purpose, as to the Matter to be decided, (and therefore in all likelihood little Heeded) yet might infer the Pope's Supremacy by an Antecedent or Divine Right; And thus they insensibly put him out of the Reach of all Councils, and did their Work more effectually, then if they had spoke never so plainly, Those who Heedfully Read over the Canons and Decrees of the Council of *Trent*, may furnish themselves with plenty of Instances; To Avoid Tedioufness I shall only mention some few. For a Trial how this would glide down, the Decree for Reformation is Ushered in with these words, *Eadem SS. Synodus Pijj Summorum Pontificum, & Prebatorum Conciliorum*  
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*Constitutionibus inharens*, (Sess. 5. cap. 1.) Here the Pope is not only put before the Councils, but that ye might see by what Right he is Adorned with the Epithet *Summus*; And though the Councils are suffered to wait on him, yet it is with a Restriction, they must be such as are *Probata*: Now what those are, and who shall have the Approving them, any Man may guess without being suspected for a Conjurer; For with them the meanest Provincial Council is as good as a General, if Confirmed by the Pope, and without his Confirmation the most General is not worth a Rush. Thus what shrivelled things are Councils to a Pope? But as if all Reformation Consisted in exalting the Pope, in the Decree of Reformation, (Sess. 6. cap. 1.) He is stiled, *Ipsius Dei in Terris Vicarius*; They could hardly have made him greater, unless they had stiled Him, *Our Lord God the Pope*; And in the latter part of the same Decree they declare him to be *Captain Mend-all*, with a power to punish at Discretion, even the Highest Prelates of the Church; And that not by Vertue of any Trust reposed in Him by the Council, but *Sua Supreme Sedis Auctoritate*: This I think is pretty fair, they did deserve to be stroked and called his white Boys for it. When they come to determine the Matter concerning the Reservations of Cases, which extremely needed Reformation, (for by that means Persons oft were forced to Travel to *Rome*, from the farthest Countreys at vast Charges, and often for meer Trifles) in stead of Reforming, they Justify it; And for fear of losing the booty, they seem willing that some other Bishops should have a Share with Subordination to his Holiness; But as for the Pope himself, they tell us roundly, that he may do it *Merito pro Suprema Potestate, sibi in Ecclesia Universa tradita*. (Sess. 14. cap. 7.) Thus, I think, deliver the Nat. home, and Clinches it too; for it is he the Supreme Power in the Universal Church, that Man or Men had need be Back'd with a strange Authority, who shall dare to Contoul or oppose Him. Further, the Matter is so Ordered, that the Council frequently gives the Pope the Title of *Domus noster*, and the Consequence can be no less, but that they were or ought to be his Humble Servants. Perhaps some will say, that this was done in good Manners, and by way of Complement. But put a Complement upon the Pope, and if it serves his Turn, he interprets it a Reality; And the Decrees and Canons of this Council are Restrained to his Interpretation, that they can only speak what he pleases, so that he may make the utmost Use of it; And we know, that Sayings, which do not by the hundredth part so much Countenance his Supremacy, are Confidently brought in to prove it. An endless and needless Labour it would be to pursue all Instances of this kind, and therefore I shall Content my self with one more. When most Men were Tyred out and grown Sick of the Council, and the Papalins being in fear of the Popes Death, were Resolved to Conclude it in a Hurry, in the very last Session this Decree passeth, *Postremo Sancta Synodus*,

*Synodus, omnia & singula, sub quibuscunque clausulis & verbis, quæ de Morum Reformatione, atque Ecclesiasticâ Disciplinâ, tam sub fel. rec. Paulo 3tio, ac Julio 3tio, quàm sub Beatissimo Pio 4to Pontificibus Maximis, in hoc Sacro Concilio statuta sunt, declarat, ita decreta fuisse, ut in his Salva semper Auctoritas Sedis Apostolica & sit & esse, intelligatur, (cap. 21.)* Now if they had done any thing as to the Pope before, this had undone it all: And this, with the Help of such a Construction as the Pope may put upon it, may enable Him to do what he will; He is now left to Carve for Himself, and if he want any thing it is his own fault. By what Surprize this Decree was obtained, the Historian briefly tells us. When a Council was just Shutting up, few Men gave their Minds to Heed or stick at any thing; and therefore in the Close of the day this is passed as a thing granted, though it had never been mentioned in any Congregation, (*Hist. C. T. lib. 8 pag. 812.*) Now what the Authority here designed is, you may give a shrewd Guess by the Acclamation in the Shutting up of the Council, *Beatissimo Pio Papa, & Domino nostro, Sanctæ Universalis Ecclesiæ Pontifici, &c.* What can he desire more? It seems the Dispute about *Universalem Ecclesiam* and *Universam Ecclesiam*, was out of their Heads now.

VIII. As to the Authority of Bishops, it was the Contrivance of the Council all along, by all Arts possible, to bring it in a manner to nothing. 'Tis true, some were sensible of the Mischief of this, and amongst such the Spaniards deserved no mean Commendation, especially Granata, then whom there was not a more brave and Magnanimous Prelate in all the Council: It wanted not much once, but that they had out-witted the early Legats; but their honest Plot being discovered, they were quickly over-born by the Italians and Pensioners, who never Consider what is Right, but what will serve the Pope's Turn: And to exalt him, it was necessary to depress all other Bishops; for if other Bishops be Christ's Vicars as well as the Pope, they will be in danger to be his Fellows; but if they be only Vicars, or Delegates of Christ's Vicar, then they must submit to Him as their Head, from whom they derive all their Authority. And to bring it to this Pass they used many Arts, though none more effectual then this, which shall be the only Instance I shall produce in this place. In the Matter of Reformation it was necessary to seem to do something, (though God knows their Reformation was much like *Boccaline's* in *Parnassus*, which after a mighty Bustle, and vast Expectations, Amounted to no more then the Moderating the Price of Cabbages and Onions.) Now though in things of greatest Concern, the Reformation was left to the Pope, which was *Magno conatu nihil agere*; yet all could not be so Referred, and the Execution of such things had been always left to the Bishops. Now to have Committed them to any other Hands, would have been not only to bring themselves under Eternal Infamy, but to put the World in

in a Mutiny; On the other Hand, to leave it to them would seem to infer a Right, if not a Divine Right in prejudice of the Pope. One would think here they had been taken in a Noose, but they slip the Knot with ease; And certainly never any thing was more Neatly taken away in the very giving. For when Matters came under debate, which did Require the Exercise of Jurisdiction upon the place, they then Committed it to the Bishops, but with this Restriction, *As Delegates of the Apostolick See*. Here indeed the Bishops Received a Power to Exercise some Authority, but in the very Accepting it they gave up their Right, and placed all Authority Originally in the Pope; so that if he pleased at any time to undelegate them, he did in effect unbishop them. And yet the only Reason which moved the Cardinals, *Sr. Clemens* and *Alexandrinus* to persevere in their Opinion to the last against the Confirmation of the Council, was this, *That too much Authority had been Given to Bishops in that Council*, (*Hist. C. T. lib. 8. p. 817.*) So Jealous is the Roman Court of the Authority of Bishops, that they are not willing to Allow them the Shadow of it; And indeed they have Reason for it, for if every Bird had her own feather, those Jolly Cardinals, now Princes Mates, would Appear to be only a parcel of bald Cootes. For this and some other Reasons the Council of *Trent* might have Waited for a Confirmation, had not *Hugo Buoncompagno* Bishop of *Besice*, not only clearly Convinced the Pope, that he was no Loser by the Council; but also taught Him a Trick how He might make what he pleased of it, and become no small Gainer by it, (*Hist. C. T. p. 816.*) To all this the Bigoted sort of *Romanists* will Return, that it is the Pope's Right. But if it be not his Right, then both He and that Council are guilty of a World of Wrong done to the Churches of God. But that Dispute is not proper in this place, but will be fully Handled in the Particular of Supremacy; And if they be cast in that, they must be so in this,

IX. It hath ever been Held to be one necessary Qualification of a General Council, That it be free; And therefore I may Reasonably put in this Exception against that at *Trent*, That it was in-manifest Slavery all the time. If there were nothing more to be urged but the Decree *Proponuntibus Legatis*, that alone were sufficient; For by this means the Bishops, who best knew the state of their Churches, could not offer anything in Council, how needful soever they knew it to be; And what should be debated, was wholly left to their pleasure, who either could not understand the state of the Churches; Or if they did, yet did not regard it, but made it their whole Business to Advance the Interest of the Court of *Rome*. And though it was Pleaded, that this was a New Thing never before done in any Council; though at several times strong Reasons were brought to prove, that it Infringed the Liberty of the Council; And from time to time great Intercession was made



to take off that Decree, yet it could never be obtained; And we may Reasonably believe, that it was Resolved it never should, whatsoever they might pretend. For when this Decree with no small Art had passed, the Pope was so well pleased with the News, that he wrote privately to the Legats, That they should Maintain it firmly, and put it in Execution, without Relenting one jot, (*Hist. C. T. lib. 6. p. 470.*) But though this was too much yet this did not satisfy them; But they took still a greater Liberty to Enslave all the Rest. For when they had proposed any Matter, if the debate did not proceed to their Mind, they took upon them to interrupt Men in their speaking, and to Check, Reproach or Threaten Others; so that several died of Grief or Indignation for the Disgrace and Abuse Received; And some pretended Necessity of Business, or want of Health, and Asked leave to depart, and were not a little glad they were got away. If this did not do, then by Prorogations and Delays they wearied Men out, and would do nothing till an Opportunity Presented for their purpose. Neither was the Council under less Restraint as to time, then Matter; they were so far from having any Power to Sir, till they had dispatched the weighty Affairs they came about, that they could not Sit an Hour longer then they pleased their Masters the Legats; For they had a Bull by them, empowering them to prorogue, transfer or dissolve the Council as they should think Fit. So that let the Necessities of *Christendom* be what they will, if the Designs of the Legats were not carried on, all the Bishops in Council must either Sit still and cool their Heels, or March off and be gone; And that they were Resolved to take this Course, if they could not Compass their Ends, is manifest from that rude Translation of it to *Bologna*. And yet one would think there should be little need of all this Caution; for the Council consisted wholly of Persons sworn to the Pope, in as full and ample Manner as any Oath of Allegiance can be made by a Subject to his Lawful Prince, as is plain from the Form of the Oath set down by our Learned *D. of St. P.* (*Find. A. B. L. cap. 8. p. 491.*) so that they could Practice nothing contrary to the Pope's Will without being guilty of Perjury; And the Legats upon Occasion did not fail to put them in Mind of it. Indeed, it may more properly be called a Faction then a Council, for there were none Admitted but the Pope's Party; And was it likely, that they should do right, who were Complaind of for doing all the wrong? The Protestants are not suffered to Come and Sit as a Part of the Council, but to be heard as Criminals: And they had great Encouragement to come, who were Condemned before hand. Three Safe Conducts were Granted to the Protestants, Two under *Julius 31st*, and one under *Pius 4th*, but not one of them will Admit them as Members of the Council, but supposeth them to come as Offenders, with a Liberty to make the best of their Cause they can. But he, who shall Heedfully

read the first Safe-Conduct, will see, that it was rather intended for a Snare to Trepan them, then an Instrument to Secure them. That Phrase, *Quantum ad ipsam Sanctam Synodum spectat*, looks suspiciously, as if they intended it as a Reserve for another to do that, which they were ashamed of themselves; and there is the greater Reason to think this, because the very last words of the Safe-Conduct shew, that they did intend to proceed against such, whom they should judge Hereticks; Only they promise, that they shall have *Judices sibi benevolos*, i. e. They shall be Hanged with Silken Halters. And what kind of Entertainment they were like to find, we may hence Guess, that it is sometimes plainly said by some in Council, *That their Coming thither was to Condemn the Lutherans*; And when *Vega* spake of a *Lutheran* Opinion, as Reconcilable with what they called Catholick, the Council was highly Offended, as thinking it a prejudice, that any of the Differences might be thought Reconcilable, (*Hist. C.T. p. 208.*) yet they had the best Knack at Reconciling, when they had a Mind to it, that I ever knew; for they could Reconcile differences amongst themselves, that were as opposite as Light and Darknes, without Condemning either of the Contraries; Witness among others, the Controversie between the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* about the immaculate Conception. They were so bent on this design, that they would Admit none into the Council, who were thought in the least to favour the Reformers. When *Vengerius* Fleed to the Council, though as a Bishop he had Right to a place there, yet the Legats would not suffer him to be there, but send him to the Pope to clear himself from the Imputation of *Lutheranism*; And he was glad to be gone, and at last to get out of *Italy*, though he did in some Measure Requite the Kindness afterwards. For in Revenge he wrote a Book to prove, that all Liberty was taken away from the Council, and that it was Called by the Pope, not to Establish the Doctrine of Christ, but the Servitude and Oppression of poor Souls, (*Hist. C.T. p. 436.*) And though he had been foully abused, and was an angry Man, yet in this he was too much in the Right. But as some were not Admitted, so such as did Sit there were upon their good Behaviour, and might by one Device or another be Fetcht out of the Council at pleasure. Even one of their greatest Creatures the Bishop of *Bisonto*, was Cited from the Council to Appear before the Auditor of the *Rota* at *Rome*, such a piece of Impudence as was never before Practised, and enough to have made the Council Assert its Authority against the Pope, if there had been any Considerable Number of any Courage or Honesty. But though upon the Bishops modest Complaint the Legats were ashamed of it, and the poorer Bishops began to be Malignous, yet the Pope made his Advantage of all. For laying hold on this Opportunity, as it were, in Compassion to succour the meaner Bishops, he made Pensioners and fast Friends of those, who were in danger to be his Enemies;

Enemies; and gained a clear Instance of the Pope's Exercising Jurisdiction over a Council. And though this shews Him to have been a dextrous Artist, who could so easily turn his danger to his gain, and Kill two Birds thus with one Stone; yet it speaks little in Commendation of those, who what in them lay sold the Liberties of all Christians so Dog-cheap. And though the Pope was thus secured of them, yet they were not trusted: But when the Legats had prepared any thing, if it was not treated of in all Points to their liking, it was either utterly quashed, or laid aside at pleasure. When as Matter of Reformation it was proposed to set down the Qualities, requisite in the Promotion of the greater Prelates and Ministers of the Church, which certainly might have been of great use and profit to so disordered and corrupt a State, as the Churches Affairs were then in; it was all presently turned out of doors, and that chiefly for this Reason, *Because more then two Thirds of the Benefices are Reserved to the Apostolick See, unto which it is not Fit to Prescribe a Law*, (Hist. C.T. lib. 2. p. 216.) When the Matter of Residence was treated of with some little Heat, they were all presently cooled, and the Matter put off, Cardinal *Monte*, after some specious Pretences, plainly telling them, *That the Pope's Will was Resolutely so*, (Hist. C.T. lib. 2. p. 232.) And with this they are all struck dumb. And as they might not speak but with Leave and Licence, so what they did was insignificant, if it Chanc'd afterwards not to please the Pope. For the Councel having taken Care for Correcting the Vulgar Edition, and for procuring an exact Impression, and having Employed Deputies on the Work; When this News came to *Rome*, the Pope undoeth it all by his own Authority, and the Legats in pursuance of his Order, cause the Deputies to desist from the Work, and to bring all they had done to them, and this without any Respect to the Council, or so much as making them privy to it. It seems somewhat strange, that they should have no more at least seeming liberty, but be used so scornfully; For the Pope had ever the Major Party in the Council. It began, if not altogether, yet for the most part with his own Creatures: And they, when but a contemptible Number, and (as the Historian saith) for the greater part a very ignorant Parcel of Men, defined Matters of the greatest Concern, which were never before defined; And too soon then. But when Cardinal *Paccego* gave Information, that the *Spanish* Bishops, Men of exemplary Piety and great Learning, were coming to the Council, the Legats thought (as they truly found) that their Task would be harder; And therefore they began timely to look about them, and solicit the Pope to send them trusty Bishops to out-Vote the *Ultramontans*, (as they called them) (Hist. C.T. lib. 2. p. 142.) This did well enough all the time of *Paul* and *Julius*; But when the *French* were preparing to come to the Council in the time of *Pius* *quintus*, the Rumour of such Mens coming, who were naturally of a daring temper, and free

Speech, and in no great danger of incurring the displeasure of their King for either, so Alarm'd the Pope, that he openly and with little less than a professed Design for out-Voting them, sent such a strength of Confidents and Titulars, that the Papalins in Council were themselves ashamed of it; for by that it was manifest, that nothing could be done in that Council, but what was Carried by his Creatures, and consequently by himself. This will still be more plain, if we Consider the Number of Prelates in *Trent*. The Catalogue at the End of the Council tells us, that they came from fourteen Nations; but if it were well Examined, it would Appear, that many of the Prelates of those several Nations were only Titulars, or the Pope's Pensioners; But the Number of all together, (and yet they never were all together) Amounts to 281. Now all of this Number, (take Procurators and all) which Appeared at various times from thirteen Nations, were only 91, the Rest were all *Italians*, the Pope's Devotees, who either for fear durst not, or for Interest would not in the least Oppose him; and they Amounted to 189, which makes Somewhat above two Thirds of the Council. Now when all the Complaints were against the Court of *Rome*, let any Man judge what could be Carried in a Council, wherein the Pope had so much the Major Party, and Voices were Numbered and not weighed. And when the Council is Called by Him, and Consists chiefly of Persons, whose dependance is on Him, and all Sworn to Him, and when they are Met, must Treat of nothing but what is Propos'd by his Order, nor then any further, or in any other Manner than makes for his Interest; And if any thing displeases, are liable to be sent packing away when he pleases; And their Orders may be discharged without their Consent, and are in all things under his Government, who will never suffer them to follow their own Judgement. I Humbly desire to know by what Figure such a Council is called Free, for in proper speaking it cannot be so.

X. Another small Objection which I have against this Council is this, That the Decrees and Canons set forth in that Councils Name, were really not the Decrees and Canons of the Council: for the Truth is, it was a meer Sham, and only a Skreen or Curtain drawn between the World and the Pope, that he might play his Game more safely out of Sight. For what do they tell us of *Trent*? If there was any Council, it was at *Rome*; for there all was really Transacted and Concluded. In *Trent* they did only Act the Play which Others made, and therefore it is unjust that they should be Accounted the Authors of it, and Rob Others of their Glory; for though they carry the Name, yet in Truth the Tridentine Fathers, were neither Fathers nor Mothers of those Decrees and Canons, but were only the Midwives to deliver the Pope and Conclave of a Brat, which they had long been big with; though they were partly forced and partly Hired to take it upon them.

themselves, lest the World should have judged it a Bastard-Child. By the Orders of *Paul* the 3d. to the Legats, they were to receive from him what they should propose, deliberate and conclude, and not to publish any Decree in Session, before they had Communicated it at *Rome*, (*Hist. C. T. lib. 2. p. 164.*) And all along there were Deputies in *Rome* kept over the Council, that nothing could be dispatched in *Trent*, till they had first Considered, Corrected and Concluded the Matter, and satisfied the Pope in it: And then he sent it to *Trent*, that it might pass for their Decree. And to this purpose Dispatches came from *Rome* every Week at least once, and sometimes twice, unless the Waters were up, (as they often were there) and then the Pope could not inspire them, but the Legats were forced to make delays, and Busie the Council in By-matters; of all which a very pleasant Account is given in the Letter of the Bishop of Five-Churches to the Emperour. And sometimes it Hapned, that the Deputies in *Rome* did not understand the Affair so well as the Legats, who were upon the place; And so the Pope sometimes put things upon them that were uneasy or unsafe; And then they were at a Stand, whether they should follow his Orders or his Interest; But the Common Resolution was to Employ the Council in something else, till they could give the Deputies more full Information and Satisfaction, that the Orders might be Corrected, but still nothing could be Concluded in the Council, till it was first Agreed on and determined at *Rome*; And from that they were not to depart. Now I cannot understand, but that those who made the Decrees and Canons, were more effectually the Council, then those who published them. And being *Romanists* are apt to Ask, what Objection can be made against the Council of *Trent*, which may not also be made against the Council of *Nice*? I desire to know of them, whether they will say, that these things can be truly Objected against the Council of *Nice*? If not, then they must Acknowledge a wide difference.

XI. But suppose these and other Objections did not Lye against it, yet what is the Council of *Trent* to us? If the Acts of that Council bind us it must either be from the Authority of the Council, or the Nature of the things determined. If from the Nature of the things, then they are binding before, and without the Council: And so where the Council of *Trent* is in the Right, we may receive it for its own sake, not the Councils; because it is true, not because the Tridentine Fathers so determined; And so the Plea of the Council is laid aside to Examine the Nature of the thing. But if those Acts must be supposed Binding by Vertue of the Authority of the Council, I would know how that Authority Reacheth us? for Councils bind those Churches; whose Bishops are present and Consenting to them. And though the Pope hath Usurped the Privilege to be the only Confirmer of Councils, yet Anciently his Confirmation Reached no further then



then to his own Church or Diocese at most; And every Bishop had as much power to Confirm Councils as He, and the Council stood in as much need of their Confirmation as his in Respect of their particular Churches; And their Common Stile in Subscribing was, *Ego A. B. Confirmavi, Corroboravi*, or the like. And if they did not do thus, the Decrees and Canons of the Council were not Reputed to be Binding to their particular Churches. If the Determinations of the Council were thought to be of General Concern, then they were sent to other Churches, whose Bishops were not there, and they might Receive or Reject, either in whole or in part, but what they received they bound themselves to, but not but by their own Act. Now what Bishops of ours were at *Trent*? or when did we receive it or approve it *ex post facto*? *Henry* the 8th. was so far from sending any Bishops to that Council, that he Protested against it. *Edward* the 6th. was less a Friend to it. What Queen *Mary* would have done, I know not; But all the time of her Reign the Council was under a Suspension, and sate not; And though it was Revived again in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, yet it is well known, that she thought, that neither the Pope had Right to Call a Council, nor equal that he should Preside in it; Neither did any of the Bishops of her time, (either of those put out, or those put in) Appear there. As for the Blind *Irish-man*, he is nothing to us, and as little I think to his own Nation. It is indeed true, that Cardinal *Pole* an *English-man*, whom even Protestants Honour for his Moderation and Piety, was in that Council some small time under *Paul* the Third; But he Sate there as the Pope's Legat, not an *English* Bishop: Nay, at that time he was not a Bishop, at least not of any *English* Church, nor deputed by any Bishop of Ours; And therefore could not Carry with Him the Authority of any one of our Churches. I wonder the Pope had not so much foresight, as to Set up some Titulars to supply this defect; But if He had, we should have little Regarded such a Mock-Authority. And as none of our Bishops were there, so there is not the least Colour to say, that we Received it since; And therefore they may Keep their Council for a Snare to themselves, it doth not bind us. And this Argument ought to be Held good, even in the Opinion of the Council of *Trent* it self, for when in Order to Carrying a Matter under debate, the Determination of the Council of *Florence* was urged, it was pressed as an Argument against the *Spaniards*, not against the *French*; And for this Reason, that the one Nation had Received that Council, but not the other. And thus I have done with the General Part, and now we must come to a more close Fight, insisting upon such Particulars, as may both Justify our Separation, and withal make manifest, that whatever they pretend, the true Reason of their Adherence to those Matters is only a Selfish and Unchristian Interest.



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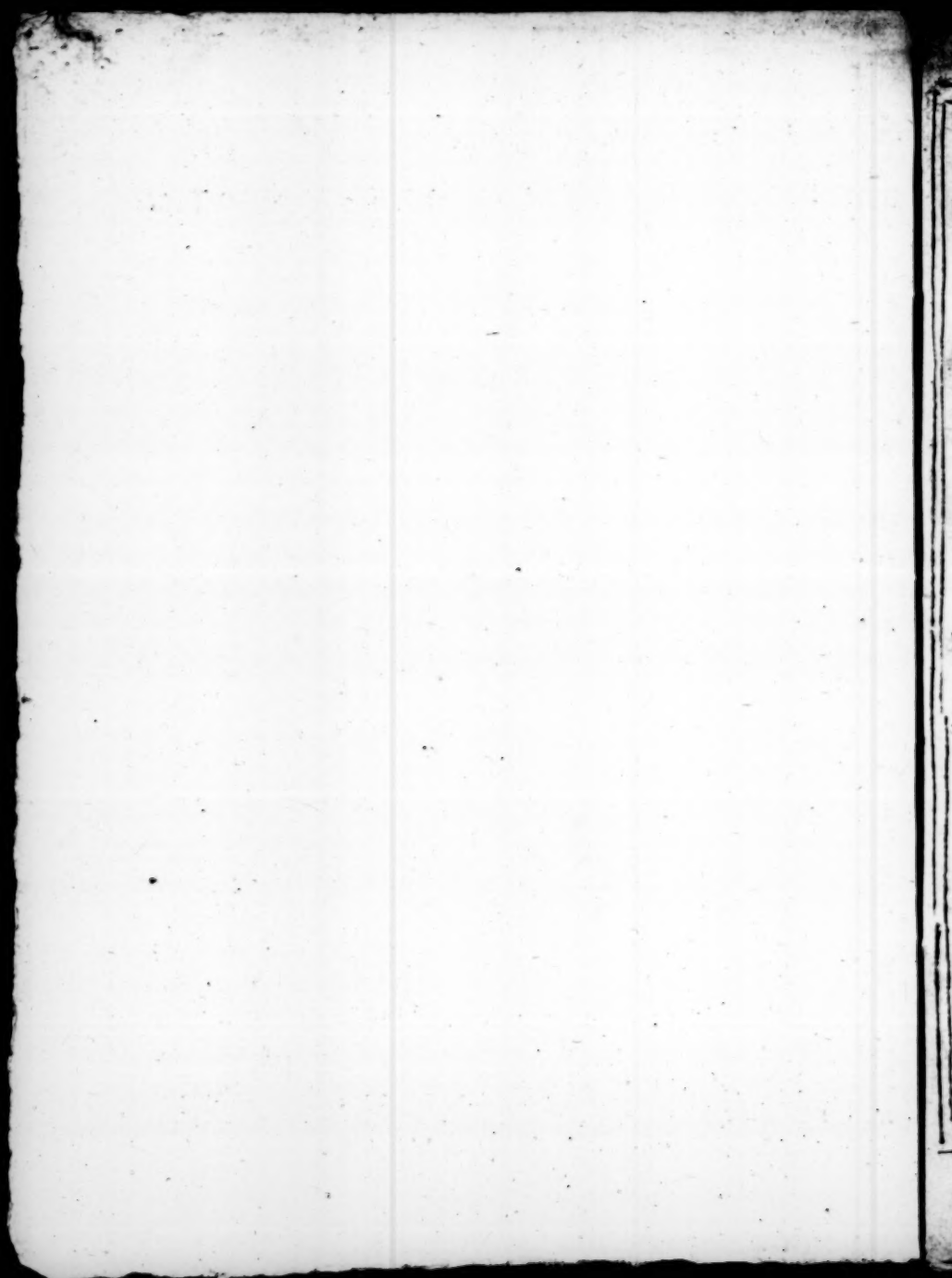
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*Samuell Grascome*

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## The EPISTLE to the READER.

Courteous Reader!

**F**OR Right or Wrong, so we Call all. Not that we Believe they will be so, but because we would have them so. For when a Man hath been at no small Pains (at least as he thinks) for the Benefit of Others, he is very prone to expect, as his due, a Return of Kindness or Candour: But on the other Hand, He, who is at the trouble to Peruse, takes it to be his Privilege to Judge; and so far he judgeth right, if he proceed not further, thinking he cannot be a Judge, unless he be malicious; And that the Business of Reading a Book is to find or make more Faults than there is, not to make an honest Advantage of what may be found useful. Upon this Score, he that Adventures on the Press, brings Himself like a Bear to a Stake, where though he may Fancy he Creates Others great Diversion, yet He himself is sure to be the Sufferer, and becomes liable to be Baited at every ones pleasure. But he is as it will, I have wrote my Thoughts freely, and I Envy no Man the same freedom of speaking his: Only I could wish all Men would Consider, That sometimes Men run down-Hill faster, then is for their own Convenience, and that Liberty loseth its Nature, when it degenerates into Licentiousness, or becomes a Cloak of Maliciousness: I will not waste time in fruitless Apologies; For if this small Tract hath nothing in it self to Buoy it up, it must certainly Sink; for it is not all the Daubing and Flattery in the World, that will Perswade Honest, Sober or Judicious Men, to embrace Senseless Impertinence: And as for Others I desire not the Scandal of their good Opinion.

If this little thing should be any whis taken Notice of in the World, I know it will be bitterly Objected, That I seem inclinable to the Exercise of a more severe Discipline, then hath (at least of late) been Exercised amongst us, or then this loose Age will bear, in which perhaps there is too much Truth. But I could wish the Reader would suspend his Censure, till he hath Considered these few things I shall Return in Answer. First, that in an Age wherein all Men are Carvers to themselves for Religion, it is but equal, that they should not deny me, who am very sparing of using it, the same Liberty with themselves; especially since a wanton or loose Practice of Religion may be as uneasie to me, as the strictest Rules, Order or Decency can be to them. Secondly, because in this I am not Singular, but have not only the Judgement of the Fathers and Practice of the Primitive Church, but the Constitutions of our own Church on my side, which (to Avoid Numerous Instances,) is evident from the Preface before the Communion Appointed to be Read on Ash-Wednesday. Thirdly, that the more ungrateful it may be to Un-governable tempers. So much the more necessary it is for the Safety and Peace of the Church, and perhaps also of the State. For, for want of this all things Run into Disorder and Confusion, Discipline being not only the Fence about Doctrine, but the Preserver and Preserver of good Manners, and sober Conversation; And in vain shall Men Reason, Talk or Preach, whilst the Corruptions, Discontents, Pride, and various ill Humours of the greatest part of Mankind

## The Epistle to the Reader.

kind knows no other Awe, than the simple Restraints of bare Persuasions. Both Romanists and Dissenters frequently with open Mouth upbraid us, that we have not that Influence on the Lives, Manners and Actions of our People, which they have, and that merely for want of Discipline, which indeed is true, though we do not desire so much as they have. For by woful Experience we find, that they can as powerfully Influence them to ill Actions, as good. But at the same time they forget to tell us, that they Joy all their Forces, and make all possible Interest, that we may be Tied up from the Exercise of the most just and necessary Discipline, and that purely in fear, lest a Discipline as primitive as our Doctrine joyned together, should get Ground so fast in the World, that in time they might become Ashamed, or grow weary of their Trade. It was the Observation of a Learned Person, that the Cunning and Master-piece of the Eusebians lay in Evacuating the Discipline of the Church, under a pretence of Moderation; not doubting, but that if Discipline were broken, the Arian Doctrine would easily break in: And indeed this hath been the Practice of Heretics all along: And whatever the Persons might gain, the Church was ever a Loser by the Devices of her Projectors; for neither the Henoticum of Zeno, nor the Capitula of Justinian, nor the Interim of Charles the Fifth, nor all the Tricks and Contrivances of our Modern Trimmers, Tolerators and Compreheaders, ever did the Church of God any good, but Animated all Parties, and made the Breaches wider, and more irreconcilable. The Judgement of Queen Elizabeth is herein very Considerable, because of the Reasons that go along with it; For she for saking the Primitive Rule, and Allowing the Publick Profession of Variety of Religious Persuasions, she saith is nothing else, *sic Religiones ex Religione ferere, mentes bonorum variè distrahere, factionum studia alere, Religionem atque Rempubicam conturbare, & divina humanaque commiscere: Quod est re malum, Exemplo pessimum, suis perniciosum, & illis ipsis, quibus permissum, nec admodum commodum, nec plane tutum.* (Camb. Ann. Eliz. par. 1. p. 28.)

What is here wrote is only a Preparatory to my principal Design, which was to shew, That notwithstanding all the High and Specious Pretences of the Romanists, when Matters are thoroughly Examined, the only true Reason of their difference with us would be found to be Interest, and that such an interest, as (to say no worse) is very unbecoming the Professors of Christian Religion. This alone was first in my thoughts, and the rather, because I observed that many had touched upon it in their Way, but no Man so far as I know had ever yet made it his Business. But upon second Thoughts, though I did not depart from my first Design, yet I thought fit to Enlarge it; not only because some would think that alone would look more like a Libel, than a just Plea; but because I myself did think, that so Common Apprehensions it would leave things in the dark, and not be very profitable to any, and perhaps to some hurtful; For as some vain Mindes are Apt to take Occasion from our Dissensions to Murlesque all Religions, so some Persons Addicted to the Reading of

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Controversies, have Learned Skill enough to Condemn others, but not to know themselves; and they can tell you what they are not, but not what they are. Now a purely Negative Religion at best is next to no Religion, if it be any at all. Now though this be not the fault of those Authors, who are bound to follow their Adversaries Steps, but of those Men who will only Busy themselves in such Authors; yet when my Method and Manner was wholly at my own Choice, and in my own power, I could not think my self excusable, if I should proceed only in a destructive way; And therefore in reference to the Parts which are to follow, I did propos'd to my self to state the Case between us in each particular, to set down positively what we do Hold or can Allow; And then to Enquire into the Reasons of the Controversie, both pretended and real; for that Method I take to be best, which leaves Men not as a Loss for Right, whilst it fortifies them against the Wrong.

When in the late great Ferment of the Nation, Controversial Pieces flew so thick about, this First Part was then ready for the Press, but for a very Justifiable Reason then laid Aside; Whether ever I shall be able to Finish the other Two Parts, which must Consist of Particulars relating to the Doctrine and Government of the Church, God only knows; For in Order thereto I must have Expended more Money than my mean Fortune will well bear, to purchase some Books which I have not by Me: But now by reason that I cannot Walk the same pace, which so many Men do, I fear I shall be Necessitated in a short time to Sell those few Books I have, to Buy my Children Bread; And in such a Condition a Man can have little Stomack, and less Opportunity or Leisure to Write Controversies. However, I think this may be sufficient amongst all sober Men, to Vindicate Me from the Slanders of some Black Mouth'd Persons, who Give a Reputation to the Roman Religion, by Representing all us Papists, or (which we find by Experience is worse) as Reputed Papists, or Popishly affected, who will not run into the same Excess of Riot with themselves. I pray God give them more Grace and Sobriety then to proceed in such Courses, and Me more Patience under such unjust Reproaches.

But my Comfort is this, that my Share is inconsiderable in respect of my Great Master's, or his true Follower St Paul, who underwent the full Trial of all those things, whereby he Teacheth us to Approve our selves Ministers of God, amongst which I think I have some peculiar Interest in these, i. e. To have done it by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report, as a deceiver and yet true. (2 Cor. 6. 8.) I never thought that Controversies were to be written for Controversies sake, but rather what in us lay to put an End to them; And I should not think my self unfortunate under all the Calumnies and Sufferings in the World, if I could be in the least Instrumental to Advance the Sincerity of Religion, and Promote the Peace of Gods Church: But if I may not be Capable of Endeavouring it to any purpose, I will never cease to pray for it; And therein I doubt not to have the Concurrence of all good Men, whatsoever otherwise may be their Persuasions; And thus Professing my Integrity before God, and freely leaving my self to the Censure of all Men. I am

Yours in all Christian Offices, S. G.

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### ERRATA Sic Corrigenda.

**P**Age 12. line 17. for *palle* read *pall*. p. 25 l. 27. for *Thai* r. *The*. p. 34. for *Lindhardus* r. *Lindhardus*. p. 35 l. 2. *Lindhardus* again for *Lindhardus*. p. 38. l. 1. for *Scythia* r. *Sythia*. p. 42 l. 3. for *their* r. *these*. p. 44. for *Pasca* r. *Pascha*. p. 46 l. 2. after *Answer* add *A*. p. 45. for *not* r. *no more which*. for *Pope* r. *Popes*. p. 47. for *on* r. *or*. p. 50. for *their* r. *these*. p. 52. for *Agathonus* r. *Agathonus*. p. 53. for *monaster*, *du* r. *monaster*, *duxor*. p. 55. after *true* add *it*. p. 56. for *this* r. *this*. and for *Their* r. *These*. p. 57. *in* *redundat* p. 59. l. 4. for *each* r. *such*. p. see *redundat*. p. 62. for *presterit* r. *precessit*. p. 66. for *of God* r. *if good*. p. 70. l. r. for *these* r. *theirs*. p. 71. for *Roinawists* r. *Romanists*. p. 73. for *the Work of a Christian*, r. *the worst Work of a Christian* p. 74. for *see* r. *so*. p. 75. *ac prateria* *vidrent* *redundat*. p. 83. for *should* r. *could*. p. 87. for *as* r. *or*. p. 90. for *their* r. *these*. p. 95. for *quem* r. *quon*, and for *early* r. *wily*. p. 101. for *it*. r. *it*.



## C H A P. I.

*Of Obligations to Unity amongst Christians.*

**S**O Vehement and Implacable have been the Divisions amongst Christians, Managed not only with Tongue-shot, Disputations, and all manner of Calumnies and Reproaches, but even with base Arts, most bloody Wars, and barbarous and inhumane Cruelties, that it might move an Enemy of our Religion, yea, perhaps an inconsiderate Person amongst our selves, to think, that that saying of our Saviour, *I Come not to send Peace, but a Sword*, (Mat. 10.34.) was not designed to forewarn his true Disciples of the Persecutions they are to expect from the wickedness of others, but rather to instruct and animate them in Quarrels, and to live as Cut-throats amongst one another; And whatever are their Pretences, yet by daily Experience we see, That this is too much the Practice of many, who are so devoted to their Factions, that they startle at the Name of Peace; And we have been told of some, whose Furious Raptures have Inspired them with such a blasphemous Impudence, as to affront God with their impious Prayers, *That he would Heighten and Increase the Divisions of the Church*. These and other such like Extravagancies have moved Me in the first place to Consider what Obligations to Unity Christians Lye under, for if they Lye under no such Obligations, it is most certain, That the Name of Schism can hardly be so much as a Theological Sc-re-crow; And they who keep such a Coil for Peace, will be found the greatest Violaters of it, as attempting to bring all Men to that which they are nothing bound to; But on the contrary, if there be such Obligations, then it is as certain, That all dividing and unquiet Persons do incur a Guilt proportionable to the Measure of their Proceedings, and the strength of those Obligations; And if it further Appear, That the Christian Religion doth lay the strongest Obligations to Unity upon all the Professors of it, Threatens the breach of it with the highest Penalties, Rewards the Observation of it with the utmost Advantages, and Affords the best Means and Helps to preserve it, then all that Own the Name of Christians must confess themselves to be indispensible and eternally bound to the Peace, so as to continue in it, and procure it upon any terms but that of Sin, with which no Peace is to be had; But though I propound this particular with this very design, That the General Concernment and Obligations of

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Christianity might make Men bethink themselves, and abate their over-eager Propensions, and obstinate Adherence to their particular Parties; yet I shall be very brief, because (unless it be some Religious Madmen, whose Brains are Heated with Enthusiasm beyond any Hope of Cure) even those, who are too Active and too Guilty in promoting Division, do yet upon any sober Discourse freely Acknowledge, That it is not only a good and a pleasant thing for Brethren to dwell together in Unity, but also that it is a duty incumbent upon every Christian in his Station, by all honest means to promote it, not only amongst his own party, but with all Others, who have Given up their Names to Christ; And I wish they were as serious in their Practice, as they are free in their Acknowledgments, and would not amongst themselves Teach some private Tenets to Ensure their Partizans, whilst they discourse at another Rate with those, whom they are too apt to Esteem their Adversaries.

II. And in the first place, If we Consider the Nature of the Christian Religion, what can be more evident, then that all its Principles and Doctrines, as they are most inseparably Knit together, and subservient to each other, so they tend to Effect and Confirm the strongest Unity amongst the Professors of it. Saint Paul, beseeching the Ephesians to Endeavor to Keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace, presseth them more particularly with this very Argument, *There is* (saith he, Eph 4. 4. &c.) *one Body, and one Spirit, even as ye are Called in one Hope of your Calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all*; And in this Profession we have all Engaged our selves to be the faithful Servants of God and of Christ, and therefore ought joyntly to Serve the Interest, and Maintain the Honour of our Gracious and common Master: Nay, we not only hereby become Servants, but have the Honour of being Friends of Christ, Adopted Sons of God, and are taken into the same Family and Household; And of how heinous and insufferable a Crime they are Guilty, who are troublesome in this Family, and make Factions in this Household, we may Learn from that Saying of our Saviour, (Matth. 3. 25.) *If a House be divided against it self, that House cannot stand.*

III. But possibly it may deserve our particular Consideration, That the Holy Scriptures speak of all Christians as being incorporated into one Body, and that in such a manner, that the Hopes of our common Salvation depends upon our being Members of that one Body. Hence in relation to our first Admission or Infition, we are said to be *all Baptized into one Body*; and that whether we be Jews or Gentiles, bond or free, (1 Cor. 12. 13.) Hence also our progress and Growth in Christianity, is Attributed to that Nourishment, which as Members is Communicated to us by this Body, the Body it self being fitly Framed and Joyned together, by all parts drawing it from Christ the Head, (Eph.

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Eph. 4. 15, 16. Col. 2. 19.) Hence the Church of God is said to be his Body, (Col. 1. 24.) and this Church not to be many Bodies, but one, (Eph. 4. 4.) and that we might understand, That Salvation is not to be acquired, but by being Members of this Body; We are Taught, *That Christ Works our Salvation by Reconciling us into one Body*, (Eph. 2. 16.) And for this Reason the Apostle calls Him *The Head of the Church, and the Saviour of the Body*, (Eph. 5. 23.) from these and many other places of Scripture of the like Nature hath arose that common Axiom, *Extra Ecclesiam non est Salus*, Which the Ancient Fathers have upon occasion Excellently Explicated, pressed and proved against schismatics; But I have no mind to make a Flourish with Citations in a matter so well known, though I wish it were better Heeded; Only before I pass away, I shall take the boldness to leave these Remarks. 1. *That all particular Christians, as Members of the same Body, are Reciprocally bound to each other, not only in the Common Offices of Justice, but even of Love, Kindness and Christian Succours, so that if the Man live in England or Armenia, at Rome or Geneva, in the Enemies Country or our own, if he be a Christian, I ought to wish and pray for his good, and if occasion be offered in no case to decline the Promoting the good of his Soul; And if Circumstances will permit, of his Body and Estate also. Secondly, That Christs Church and his Body, being terms convertible, it must consist not only of the Present, but of the past Ages, even of all that either have or expect Salvation by Christ; So that no Person, by any Endeavors whatsoever can in the ordinary way duly hope for Salvation, as being a Member of this or that particular Church, otherwise then as that particular Church by a Succession of Doctrine and Worship, and consequently of Lawful Pastors and Governours, (without whom such Worship cannot be duly Performed) is united to, and Embodied with the Catholick Church of God: for even the present Church diffused over the Face of the whole Earth, though it may be said to be Catholick in respect of particular Churches, and of its Authority, as to the present living Persons, yet in it self it is not Catholick, otherwise then as deriving from, and united to the Church of the foregoing Ages, running up unto Christ their Head: Neither can any that comes after be accounted Catholick but as an accession to the former; And this if well Weighed might be a means to make Men very cautious how they gathered separate Bodies without extraordinary good Grounds. Thirdly, that though every Schismatick do affront and injure the whole Church of God, yet the greatest Detriment is to himself. The Church may lose an unprofitable Member, but he loses himself; For if Christ be only the Saviour of the Body, none can divide from it, without apparent hazard of their own Salvation. So dangerous a thing is the Sin of Schism, though so lightly esteemed in our days.*

IV. But here some, who are ready to catch at every Twig, and think themselves just drowning and lost, if they must be bound to live peaceably and to be wise only to Sobriety, will Object, That such are the various apprehensions, inclinations, interests, education and prejudices of Mankind, That this Doctrine, as meeting with insuperable Difficulties, cannot be admitted with-

out very great Abatements and Allowances? To these I might justly Answer, That in this Case I am not concerned for their Prejudices, Interest, or any such Matters; And it were much better, if they were less concerned for themselves; for that Man that will be a Christian, must not follow his particular Inclinations and Interests, much less his Humours and Whimseys, or any thing of like Nature; but must abide by, and keep close to the Constitutions of his Saviour, and must cast down *Imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth it self against the Knowledge of God, and bring into Captivity every thought to the Obedience of Christ*, (2 Cor. 10. 5.) But because I had rather Untie the Knot then cut it, I further Answer, That Opinions inconsistent with the Foundation of Faith, of a good Life, and a just Church Government and Discipline are never to be allowed; for these directly tend to the destruction of the Church, or our selves, or rather of both; but in things of remote consequence, or private and less Concernment, there *Unio Voluntatum, non Opinionum* is sufficient; we may severally opine as we see cause, provided that we severally resolve not to transgress the bounds of Charity; In this Case the Apostles Advice is, *To forbear one another in Love*, (Eph 4. 2.) and that the *strong should not despise the weak, nor the weak judge the strong*, (Rom. 14. 3.) and to this purpose it is observable, That no Religion or Persuasion in the World ever Canonized Humility and Self-denial for Vertues; but the Christian, thereby taking care at once both to moderate the Judgement and the Practice; The One Teaching us, (to use the Apostles phrase) *in lowliness of Mind to Esteem others better then our selves; the other not to seek our own, but every Man anothers Wealib*; And by this means Men would not only be Restrained from Running to the utmost Bounds of what may seem lawful, but be careful to learn and do what is most expedient, whereby the Peace of the Church, and mutual love and kindness amongst its Members would be constantly preserved; Nor need our Men of Interest fear, that this Doctrine will undo them; For he, who like *Ishmael*, hath his Hand against every Man, will most certainly have every Mans Hand against him; so that there is odds in the Match, that one time or other he will come by the worst on't; But he, who by Christian Condescension in a Reasonable Cause denies himself, obligeth many others to do him the same kindness on the like occasion; whereby one favour to another procures many to himself; And were this principle duely practised, a man would not only be out of danger in all places, but should never want that Comfort, Succour and Assistance, which an honest Cause and Christian Deportment can expect. But suppose, (as indeed it is more then a Supposal) that others will not do their duty herein; yet he that Aims at an Heavenly Inheritance, must not take the Measures of his Proceedings from those, who value nothing above their worldly Interest; Nor ought he to think much to Meet with some Rubs in his way, when the Crown of Glory he pursues, exceeds all that he can imagine;



imagine; And let the worst be supposed that can be, such a Man obligeth all that are good or grateful: He enjoys the present satisfaction of a good Conscience, and is so much before others in a more certain Hope of his future Bliss, as he is more true to his duty; whilst those that cast off all care of this duty, whatever they may have of the Name, have nothing of the Sincerity of Christians, and consequently are not to expect the Reward.

V. This Argument hath engaged me longer then I intended, and therefore what others I shall take Notice of, I shall little more then mention, and certainly that Man who understands and values his Religion, will be concerned for the Honour of it, which is by nothing more blasted (if not as to some wholly ruined) then by Contentions and Divisions: It is Report'd of *Socrates*, that he particularly gave God Thanks for three Things, *Viz. That He was a Man, and not some other Creature, That he was born in Greece, the then most Civiliz'd Part of the World, And that he had his Education in Athens, the then most famous School of Philosophy in the World;* How much greater Cause have we with daily Thanks and Praises to Celebrate Gods Holy Name, by whose Blessing we are Christians, whereby we have not only an unerring Rule to walk by, but also from the Revelations and Promises of the God of Truth, and by the Earnest and Pledge of his Sons Resurrection and Ascension, are assured of that Immortality and those future Joys, which that wise Heathen only blindly Grop'd after? But can we think to persuade others of the truth of this, by living unspeakably worse then they, who could pretend to no such advantages? Or if this be true, then do not we by our Divisions raise a great Scandal and Prejudice against such glorious Truth: We Boast, That Ours is the best Religion in the World; Nay more, and that truly, That Ours is the only true Religion in the World. for there is Salvation in no Other, nor any other Name Given under Heaven whereby we must be saved, but that of the blessed Jesus, (*Acts 4. 12.*) And I can still remember, That when I was a Youth, I have heard plausible Harangues in Sermons, and doleful Petitions in Prayers, about them who sate in darkness, and in the Regions of the Shadow of Death; And doubtless, as the Case of the one was Lamentable, so the Zeal of the other was so far Commendable; But when I Consider, that those Men had destroyed the Mother that bore them, and thought the Gospel was no further Advanced then their Schism was propagated; I cannot but wonder, wish what Confidence a parcel of Seditious Rebellious Schismatics could think themselves the only Fit Men to bear the Light, to Conduct those that lay in darkness into the bright Sun-shine of the Gospel; But as I have heard little of their Endeavors, so less of their Success; neither ought any in reason to hope for much better, who are studious to promote Divisions; For suppose a discreet Heathen should come amongst us, and observe how one Church Anathematizeth another, how every Party pre- tends

tends it self to be in the right, and as peremptorily condemns all others to be in the wrong, and what Multitudes of Divisions there are amongst us, would not this be a strong temptation to Him to be of that Religion, which they could not agree in themselves? But when he should further see the open violence and unusual Mischiefs which the Divisions in all places produce, he would surely Resolve with himself, of all others to Fly that Religion; for when all's done, let us say what we can, Men will believe what we do. Mens Words and Actions are often too far asunder; But they generally Act what they really think, and therefore most persons think it safer (where they can) to judge of Men by their Actions rather than their Sayings, as being surer Indices of their Minds, and having a closer Correspondence with their Hearts and Designs, so that if they see Christians to be of a froward perverse Conversation, they will judge no better of their Religion; So great Reason we may see had the Apostle to give us in Charge, *to Walk in Wisdom towards them that are without*, (Col. 4. 5.) The Result of this Consideration briefly amounts to thus much, That Divisions not only produce many foul Irregularities, and inexcusable Enormities amongst our selves; but also misrepresent and scandalize our Religion, so as rather to affright others from it, then allure them to it; by which means the Practice of Christians is debauched, the Propagation of the Gospel hindered, the Truth as unjustly as highly dishonoured, and the whole design of Christianity in a manner frustrated. And if any Man be so in love with Schism, as to think this a small Crime, or so blind as not to see it; I scarce know what I can do more for him, except to pray to God to open his Eyes, and turn his Heart.

VI. And yet there is still something further, and very considerable, to be offered in this Case; for nothing is more directly binding then a Precept; and nothing more strongly binding then a Precept from him, who hath the whole Propriety in us, and absolute Sovereignty over us. So that if the God of all Power, who hath Created us, and his Son Jesus Christ, to whom he hath Given all Power, have expressly required this Unity, then the indispensableness of the duty on our part can be no longer a dispute, nor can this be a doubt to any, who have but lightly perused the Holy Scriptures; for though it may be enough to any Considerate Person, That the whole Current of Scripture bears against all Disorderliness, Unruliness and Unquietness; yet that our Months might be for ever stopped, the thing it self is Commanded in as plain and express terms, as can be desired. Thus St. Paul, (2 Cor 13. 1.) *Be of one Mind, live in Peace.* Thus St. Peter, (1 Pet. 3. 8.) *Be ye all of one Mind.* And that we might know, that this Unity must be as well in Practice as in Judgement, we are Commanded as well to walk by the same Rule, as to Mind the same thing, (Phil. 3. 16.) And St. Paul takes not a little pains to explain the necessary duty of every Member of Christ, in walking orderly in their

their several stations, to this end, That there should be no Schism in the Body, (1 Cor. 12. 25,) I could heap up many more Testimonies, but I think it needless, for any one ought to be enough to him, who owns the Holy Scriptures to be stamp'd with the Authority of Heaven, and to contain what is the Will of God, that we should believe and do: And if a Word, a Nod, a Beck from a Master, shall command or direct a Servant at his pleasure, can we think not only to neglect, but to bid open Defiance to the Commands of the Almighty, and be guiltless or 'scape Scot-free? The Sin in violating any Command is always so much the greater, by how much the greater is the Authority of the Person Commanding; from whence we may learn how great a Sin is the Violation of that Christian Unity, which is Commanded by the Almighty Maker of Heaven and Earth.

VII. But still we are further informed, of how great Moment this duty is from the rewards and punishments, that attend the performance or violation of it; The Breach of Unity is itself no small punishment, for Divisions naturally create Disturbances, increase troubles, and tend towards destruction. Hence St. Paul gives us this Caution, (Gal. 5. 15.) *If ye Bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not Consumed one of another.* So that the Advantages which flow from Unity, and the Mischiefs which arise from the contrary, are sufficient Motives to any Man, who minds his own good, to follow those things which make for Peace. But least this should not be enough, all that further can affright us from evil, is added; And no less then eternal Damnation is made the portion of Transgressors in this kind; For St. Paul telling us what are the Worksof the Flesh, which they that do shall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven; Amongst them reckons these, *Hatred, Variance, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Heresies, Envyings,* (Gal. 5. 20.) And the same Apostle tells us, *That if any Man did but seem to be Contentious, they had no such Custom, neither the Churches of God,* (1 Cor. 11. 16.) By which he seems to me to intimate, That such Persons do cast themselves out of the Church, and consequently exclude themselves from the Hopes of Salvation; But that we may not Complain of being Affrighted into Goodness, and terrified to our Duty, the punishment of the Violation of this Duty is not so great, but the Reward of its due performance is every way equal; And besides those Comforts that are naturally contained in it, and flow from it, there is no less then eternal Happiness entailed on it. Christ himself hath declared, *That Blessed are the Peace-Makers, for they shall be Called the Children of God,* (Mat. 5. 9.) And if so, then certainly they shall have a portion and inheritance with the rest of his Children, and be fellow-Heires with Christ.

VIII. Now if all these Considerations were put together and well weighed, methinks no difficulties whatsoever should be able to deter or remove us from our duties, or to hinder us from standing fast in one Spirit, with one Mind,

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Mind, striving together for the Faith of the Gospel; For to Him that professeth Himself a Christian, and believes what he professeth, what can all the Allurements and Temptations, all the Joyes, Troubles or Torments of this transitory Life Work, when set against the pains of Hell on the one Hand, and the Joyes of Heaven on the other? and yet even this pretence is taken away; And that we may not with any Shew of Reason plead any discouragements, we are assured that God will supply us with Strength and Succours in our faithfull Endeavours, that so far as concerns us, we shall be able to overcome all difficulties, and discharge our Duties; And the difference is not much, whether there be no difficulties, or the difficulties be Conquerable; an idle flingish Person perhaps would desire the former, but he that is content to take pains for Heaven, and had rather exercise and Varnish his Graces, then suffer them through disuse to be sullied and weakned, possibly will think the latter more expedient for him. I do not say, that we shall be furnished with abilities to reduce all others, but that unless by our own default we shall not want Assistance to secure our selves; And then whatever the difficulties may really be or appear, we can have no just cause of Discouragement; And I know not what greater Comfort or Encouragement to this Duty could be given us, then what St. Paul tells us, (2 Cor. 13. 11.) *Be of one Mind, live in Peace, and the God of Love and Peace shall be with you.*

## CHAP. II.

### *Wherein this Unity Consists.*

I. **T**His Unity is a Thing that sounds bravely in the Eares of all Persons, and Meets with a General Applause and high Commendation in all Places; And indeed it cannot Receive more Praises then it deserves; but when we come seriously and closely to consider what it is, and wherein it consists; When we think to grasp it, it Vanisheth, and we fall foully together by the Eares about the Unity we joyntly Extol, and make it self the occasion of our losing it; the great Reason of which is apparently this, That when Men have fallen in love with some singular way, and set up their Rest in some dividing Principles, they do not fetch the Nature of Unity from the full Precepts of the Gospel, which best Teach it, and the Practice of the Primitive Church which best Explains it, but Catching some Shreds of Scripture for pretence, they frame such a Notion of Unity as may suit with their own Scheme, and rather then quit any of their darling Errours, they will undertake to Wash a Blackmore white, I mean, to find out such a Unity as shall be consistent with Division and Separation; But it is pity to fall out about  
 unity;

Unity, and therefore leaving such to their vain Imaginations, I shall discover my own Apprehensions, wherein I think it Consists: And if I fail in any part, I shall be highly obliged to that person, who shall bring Me to a clearer and fuller Understanding of its Nature; for certainly did we better understand what it was, we should come nearer together, and better concur in the Observation and Practice of it.

II. But before I can proceed, I must for my own Security, enter a *Caveat* against the Pretences of extraordinary Cases; And therefore do tell my Reader, that I shall limit my Discourse to Gods ordinary Way and standing Establishment, to which all Persons ought to have Regard. I will not here concern my self upon what terms he may stand, who is fast Lock'd in a Dungeon, or cast upon an uninhabited Coast, or made a Slave amongst Infidels, or Lies Concealed in a Cave for fear of his Life, or any of the like Nature; I make no doubt, but that for extraordinary Cases God hath extraordinary Mercies; but then this is not Applicable to what is common or ordinary: There can be nothing more perverse and unnatural, then to judge of the stated Case of Things by the Exceptions from it; Or to Confound the common Condition of Mankind with that, which is rarely and only at some times the sad Misfortune of some few; And it is not possible to Guess, whether those Mens Errours will lead them, who in stead of observing what are the Exceptions from a General Rule, do frame to themselves a General Rule from exempt Cases, and so overthrow the common Standard; And I must Confess, that I have not been a little scandalized, to find this very thing done in a great Measure, by Men otherwise of Eminence, Learning and Piety.

III. Now though this Christian Unity be a Harmony of many parts, many of which must concur to make it true, and all ought to meet to make it Complete; The first Bond in this Common Tye, or that from whence it takes its first Rise and Beginning, is that Faith which was once delivered to the Saints; And he that doth unfeignedly embrace it, is so far forth united both to all those, who ever heretofore received it; And all those, who now live in Profession of it; but yet we must go a great way further, or else we shall come short Home.

IV. For though this Unity principally relates to the Catholick Church of God, Comprehending all Ages and places, which is that Body, whereof Christ is the Saviour, and to whom the great and precious Promises are primarily made; yet if we would speak rather of fully then magnificently, we are not so much to Consider in this Case the Church we are united to, as the means whereby we are united to it, and therefore as Men on Earth we are to consider our selves *in statu viatorum*, as Men that are not only bound to believe, but to profess the Faith of Christ Crucified, (for our Blessed Saviour hath told us, *That if we be Ashamed of Him and his Words, He will be Ashamed of us, when He*



cometh into the Glory of his Father, Mark 8.38.) as Men so indispensably bound to that Profession, that they must not only hazard, but even Actually lose all that is near and dear to them, rather then depart from it, (for the same Christ hath told us, *That if a Man come to him, and hate not Father and Mother, and Wife, and Children, and Brethren, and Sisters, yea, and his own Life, also, he cannot be his Disciple*, Luke 24.26.) as Men, who are bound to embody in a common Fraternity and Society, that they may jointly as well as openly make this Profession, *not forsaking the Assembling of our selves together, as the manner of some is*, (as the Apostle teacheth, *Heb. 10. 25.*) In a word, seeing we here live in expectation of the Promises, we must submit to all the termes and conditions of the Covenant, upon which God hath made their Performance to depend; And being the whole tenure of the Gospel, doth oblige us on Earth to joyn in a visible Fraternity, to a visible Profession, to particular duties to visible Professors, and to a real not imaginary Obedience to them, who Rule over us and Watch for our Souls; I see not how we can Challenge the Name of Christians, whilst we cast off all Care of these Duties. And hence it is Apparent, That we cannot be United to that great Catholick, Mystical and Invisible Church of God, but by becoming Members of his visible Church on Earth, as being that part of his Church, wherein he hath placed, and to which the greatest part of our Duties do particularly Relate. To Arrive to the state of Glorified Saints and Angels, that Church without Spot or Wrinkle is our Hope and Endeavour; But whilst we are on Earth, we are only on our Way towards it. and are particularly of that part of Gods Church, wherein grow Tares as well as Wheat, to be distinguished and separated in Gods good time: And by our faithful sincere Obedience in this, we do through Christ Jesus Require and Preserve a Right and Title in time, to be made the immediate Members of the other.

V. This being our present state and condition, our Unity ought certainly to be agreeable and suitable to it, and therefore must be visible amongst the visible Professours of the Gospel; and what that is, or wherein it consists, is my present Business to describe: But first from the foregoing Premises I would make this Inference, That a Believer at large is only a Christian in *Fieri*, his Faith alone without the other Duties and Accomplishments, which the Gospel prescribes to all Christians, is not sufficient to give him the full Title of a Christian; 'Tis true, he hath laid a good Foundation, but unless he proceed to build thereon, he can no more be said to be a Christian, then an Artificer can be said to have Erected a fair House, when he hath only laid the Ground-Work; And the Reason is plain, because Faith in its own Nature doth not only incline, but oblige to Obedience; And I therefore not only more chearfully Obey Gods Commands, because I believe Him faithful who hath promised, but I must condemn my self as utterly inexcusable, if I disobey Him.

Him at the same time, that I pretend to believe in Him. Hence it is observable, That the word Faith taken Objectively, is often in Scripture-phrases used to Signifie not only Revealed Truths, but Precepts of Life, even the whole Gospel of Christ Jesus, or the Law of Faith; And where it speaks distinctly of it, yet it will have the other to follow it, Commanding us *to add to our Faith Vertue*, (2 Pet. 1. 5.) *And to shew our Faith by our Works*. (Jam. 2. 8.) And accordingly the first Converts to Christianity, upon their Owning the Faith, thought themselves Obligated to go on to what the Law of Faith Required. Thus the Eunuch, when Convinced by Philip, that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, doth not Acquiesce in that Faith, but proceeds as far as his present Circumstances would permit, and of his own Accord bespeaks Philip, *See, here is Water, what doth hinder me to be Baptized?* (Acts 8. 36.) And conformably, hereto it is Observable, That the primitive Church did Vouchsafe the Title of *Fideles* to no Adult Persons, but such as were in full Communion; And did Men perswade themselves that their Faith did so indispenseably oblige them to all Christian Duties, that without their sincere Endeavour even Faith it self became defective, it would make a fair Advance towards Unity; And till they do so, I see no Reason to hope for it.

VI. But now to Return to the thing in Hand, As we are Men on Earth, and Probationers for Heaven, our Unity must be such as is Required by this our state, and consequently must consist in such matters as Unites all the visible Professors of the Gospel into such a Body or Society, which God hath instituted and designed for his Worship on Earth; But then we are to Consider, That as we are United to the Catholick invisible Church of God, by being United to his visible Catholick Church on Earth, so we are United to this visible Catholick Church, by being United to some true part of it, or by becoming Members of some particular Church; for no Member can be United to the Body all over, or to the whole immediately, but is United to the Body by being United to it in some part, *For the Body is not one Member, but many*, (1 Cor. 12. 14.) And as these fitly Framed altogether make the whole, so by Vertue of this Union each Member hath a Communication with the Whole, and is both capacitated to discharge his Duty to the Whole, and to Receive Supplies from, and claim an Interest in the Whole.

VII. Now, being that our Belief in the Son of God, and that he is the Head of the Body his Church, (if considered Antecedently to, and separately from other Christian Duties) doth rather capacitate us to become Christians, then denote us to, it will follow, That to have the benefit of our Belief, we must take care to be Admitted into that Body, which it qualifies us to be Members of. Now in all manner of Societies, of what Nature soever, Members are Admitted by some Signal Ceremony, and

known Form of Proceedings, that thereby they may be known to Others to be Members of that Society, and may undisturbedly do the Exercises and enjoy the Privileges of that Society. Now this Formal Way of Admission into the Christian Body or Society, is by the Sacrament of Baptism; And that even by our Saviours own Command and Institution; for when they are so well instructed as to believe, he will have them Received by being Baptized; *Go ye, (saith he, **Mat.** 28. 19.) Teach all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name, &c.* And though Unbelief alone be sufficient to put a Man into a State of Condemnation; yet Belief alone without Baptism doth not ordinarily put a Man into the State of Salvation. This is our Saviours own Doctrine, (***Mark** 16. 16.) He that believeth and is Baptized, shall be saved; And he that believeth not shall be damned.* And the Reason is plain; for though Unbelief, as rejecting the Covenant of Grace, and its Author, is alone able to exclude us from all benefit of it; yet Belief, though it lay hold on the Covenant, is not able alone to secure to us the benefits of it, if considered abstractedly and separately from the other necessary Conditions of it; for he that expects the benefit of a part, must observe not one, but all the necessary terms and conditions of it; from hence it may appear, how necessary it is, that we be all Partakers of that one Baptism; And this Consideration ought to Alarm those Persons to examine well the Grounds whereon they proceed, who separate from all other Christians, making it the singular part of their Religion to deny Baptism, even to the Children of Christian Parents, for though God is not bound up to withhold his Mercy, where the default is not in the Persons themselves; yet we have no certain Rule to assure us, that he will afford such Mercy out of the way, that he hath prescribed; but it is purely in his good pleasure; And if Baptism be ordinarily the Way of Admission and Entrance into that Body, whereof Christ is the Saviour; then such Persons, by denying them Baptism, do what in them lies to damn them, which doubtless is a very unchristian part. And though it be true in relation to Persons out of the Covenant, that they must first be qualified not only with an actual but a professed Faith, without which they are not capable of Admission; yet in reference to Persons in Covenant the Case is quite otherwise, for the Covenant is not to them alone, but to their Seed; And the Children being sanctified in their Parents do follow their condition, and are born to Privileges in the Church, which those without cannot claim; And therefore ought not particularly to be denied this, without which they are not by the ordinary Laws of the Covenant, Entitled to the Rest. But I will prosecute this no further, my business being rather with Adult Persons than Children. For though their Salvation is by being of the Body, yet they have small Influence on Christian Communion; and until they lose that Name are scarce able to disturb or break the Unity of the Church, which is the thing I am to Explain.

VIII The Parts of our Christian Unity are so close Knit together, that they seem to Lead Us by the Hand from the one to the other; so that it may seem somewhat a wonder how Persons should for the Generality be so woefully mistaken about them; For having thus laid the Foundation of Faith, and being Actually Admitted by the Sacrament of Baptism, it will (I suppose) be easily Agreed on all Hands, That Persons are not only Admitted to the Priviledges and Benefits of the Society, but come under an Obligation to observe the Laws and do the Duties of the Society; for no Society whatsoever, whether Sacred or Civil, ever admitted any to their Priviledges, without Tying them up to their Rules; 'Tis true, that in some Societies there are certain Honorary or Titular Members; but it is indeed only a Title: For where they are excepted from duty, they are excluded from benefit: But this is peculiar to the Christan Religion, that it admits none such; but whoever doth become a Member professing it, must fall under an Obligation to perform the Duties it requires; And by this we may perceive what further Progress our Christian Unity must make; for we must be United in the Consent, Profession and Practice of all those things, which according to our several Stations in that Society the Laws of Christianity do require from us. Now these may have relation either to particular Christians, or to them as embodied in particular Societies, or to them considered under the Notion of Subjects and Governours; Or lastly, to the Duty and Behaviour of Governours towards each other.

IX. Every particular Christian is bound to the Sincere and constant Profession and Exercise of all those Christian Duties, which the Gospel requires of every one in their single Capacities, as Humility, Sobriety, Temperance, Patience, and the like; And their Concurrence in, and due Observance of these things, is not only very profitable and Comfortable to Themselves, but very Honourable to their Society; But above all we are Commanded to *Pure Unity*, (Col. 3. 14.) and that not only for this Reason, that it Virtually contains, and in its own Nature directs and provokes to the Practice of all other Christian Duties, on which Account the Apostle in the following words styles it *ἀνθεκτός τῆς τελευτῆς*, but also because our Saviour himself hath made it the Character and Badge of his Followers. For (saith he, *John* 13. 35.) *By this shall all Men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye have Love one to another.*

X. But here it is to be Considered, that these Vertues of particular Christians have been, and may be so fairly Copied out, and handsomely Exercised by Heathens and Unbelievers, that to outward Appearance the one cannot be distinguished from the other; And though the Vertues of Christians are really distinguishable from the like in Heathens from their Principles and Ends, yet these Principles and Ends are things in themselves not seen; And therefore

therefore that those Vertues may appear to proceed from such Christian Principles and Ends, they must be practised in Conjunction with such other Duties, as do apparently Testifie what Principles we own; And that Charity it self may be a Mark of Christs Disciples, it must carry them on to those Exercises, which he hath Commanded his Worshippers to joyn in. Now this cannot be done only by separate well living, but by joyning in that Worship and Christian Communion, which the Laws of Christ, and the Nature of that Church or Society he hath Instituted, doth Require; And in these we do most clearly own and profess our selves Christians, and visibly unite in the Body; And from hence it will follow, that all Christians, under the penalty of excluding themselves from this Body, are bound to joyn in all the publick Offices of the Church, and to bear their part in all Acts and Duties of Christian Communion, and therefore Attendance to Ordinances is not only the benefit, but the necessary duty of every Christian; And as Members of the Society they must do their parts, joyning in the publick Prayers, Praises, Thanksgivings, Confessions, and the like; And especially ought to be careful to be duely partakers of the Lords Supper, as being that Act whereby of all others, we are most strongly, firmly and closely united both to Christ our Head, and to each other. Hence it is by way of Eminence, sometimes called, *The Communion*; And hence it is, That amongst the primitive Christians, though a Man had openly professed the Christian Faith. had been admitted by Baptism, yet not only an Auditor, but does Communicate in the Prayers of the Church, yet they did not Account him compleatly a Christian, till he did partake of the Lords Table; And there is the same Reason for this still, and perhaps greater Reason now then ever to urge it, when the most weighty Duties are most neglected, and People are so apt to set up their Re<sup>l</sup> far short of what our blessed Saviour hath made their Duties.

XI. That this Communion is maintained by Communicating with that particular Christian Church, being neither Heretical nor Schismatical, where every Christian lives, seems to me out of doubt; For if he do not Communicate there, it is not possible he should actually Communicate any where else, and therefore whatsoever Preparations of Mind may be pretended, the wilful or careless neglect of this, seems to Amount to no less then a Renunciation or Undervaluing of all Communion, which strikes at the very Heart of the Christian Religion. But yet for all this our Communion in that particular Church is Communion with the whole, whereof that is a part, by which we are United to the whole, in which we express our Communion with the whole, and by which we draw Supplies from the whole; For our Communion in particular Churches Arises from the Necessity of our Natures, and the Condition of Humane Beings, which are not capable of Communicating with the whole altogether, but only by parts: And though



though particular Churches in respect of particular Christians, and the Offices and Authority therein Exercised are truly called Churches, yet in respect of the Catholick Church they are but Members, whereby we are United to the whole, and Communicate with the whole; Both the Name and Benefit of Christianity comes to us from joyning in Communion with that Church, which is Christs Body: And that is the Catholick Church, and it is to that we desire to be United, and in that to Communicate by joyning with some true part of it, which is all our Natures allow us to do, and in As can Compass; But if any Man Unite himself to, or joyn in Communion with any particular Church, either in opposition to all others, or without any relation or obligation to any other Church; As to Catholick Communion, he must suppose that particular Church to be that Body, whereof Christ is the Head and Saviour, or else he cannot Hope for Salvation in it and then (unless he have the Impudence to affirm, that there is no other true Church of God) he must make Christ have more Bodies then one, and in the immediate consequence overthrow an Article of our Creed, which acknowledgeth but One Catholick Church. Our Communion therefore, though in a particular, yet by means thereof is both in and with the Catholick Church; And hence it is, that the Members of particular Churches, have an equal Right all the World over to Communion in all other Christian Churches; And when they come to other Churches, are then actually bound to Communicate with them; Upon this Ground it was, that the primitive Christians proceeded; for though they did debarr Strangers from Communion, till they did produce their Communicatory Letters or Credentials, whereby it might appear, that they lived in some particular Church of Catholick Communion, (that they might not be imposed upon by Hereticks and Schismatics) yet when the Church they came to was satisfied in that particular, they were not only acknowledged to have the same right with their own Members, but also to lie under the same Obligations; And if very satisfactory Reasons were not given of their forbearance, if they did not then actually Communicate they were Treated as Schismatics, so that that Schismatical Distinction of such an Occasional Communion as leaves Men at liberty where and when to Communicate, and that even in separate and opposite Communions, was altogether unknown to the primitive Church, or if it had been started, would never have been endured.

XII. From what hath been said it may Appear, That in the Practical Notion, Unity, Uniformity and Communion, are words much of the same Importance; The two latter only more clearly Explaining the Nature and Manner of the former; And if it be true, that our Unity consists in our Communion in the Solemn Acts of Worship, and publick Offices and Duties of

the Christian Church, it will then unavoidably follow, that we must be United, and firmly adhere to the True and Lawful Pastors of the Church, without whom those Offices cannot be Lawfully discharged, and for want of whose Support and Ministry the Solemn Worship and daily Sacrifice would fail; And the greater Reason have all Christians to take Heed to this good Order of Men; both because our Saviour hath Invested them with his own Authority, so far forth as is necessary for the Officiating in, and Governing of his Church, and also because he hath made them a special Promise of his Assistance in the discharge of their Offices: in Relation to the first he thus Commissionates his Disciples, *As my Father hath sent Me, even so send I You,* (John 20.21.) In Respect to the latter he hath said, *I am with you alway, even unto the End of the World,* (Matt 28.20.) So that if not under the Law, much less under the Gospel may any Man take this Honour to himself, but he that is Called of God; And he that intrudes into this Office, without a derivation of just Authority, comes not in by the Door, but climbs up another way; And for that Reason ought to be Esteemed a Thief and a Robber. This Authority of theirs is indeed of a spiritual Nature; They have no power of Coercion, they cannot by force lay a Restraint upon any Mans Person; but yet their Authority is real, and in some sense higher then theirs, who by Gods Commission carry the Temporal Sword for the terreur of evil Doers, and Defence of those who do well. For the same God who gave Authority to the Pastors of his Church, hath Commanded the people to obey them, (Heb. 13. 17.) And doth interpret the disobedience or neglect of them to be an Affront to Himself. For thus our Saviour Teacheth us, (Luke 10. 16.) *He that heareth you, heareth me; And he that despise h you, despiseth me; And he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me:* And therefore, though such Despisers may not seem to suffer any thing here, yet they stand Accountable to a higher Tribunal, and do run a greater hazard then any temporal punishment; when their Cause is forejudged by their Spiritual Governours. Hence, saith Tertullian, (Apol.) *Suummum futuri Judicii Prajudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a Communionis Orationis, & Conventus, & Omnis Sancti Commerciis Religetur.* The Wickedness indeed of Spiritual Governours is of very dangerous Consequence, the Influence of it makes many bad, and will not suffer others to be so good as they would: And as we read, that the Lewdness of Eli's Sons, made the People even to Abhor the Offering of the Lord; So by Moses Law the Offering for the Sin of the Priest was the same as the Offering for the Sin of the whole People, and much exceeded the Offering for the Sin of the Civil Ruler. (Levit. 4) It is sad with Gods Church when the Complaint lies at that Door: But yet even this will not Absolve Christians from their Obedience to them, in Matters which are within the just Bounds of their Authority, and properly belong to their Office: Even our Saviour himself, who

who so often warns his disciples to *Beware of the Leaven of the Pharisees*, yet Commands them to obey the same Men, so far forth as they sitt in *Moses* Chair; And doubtless he doth not Require less Observance of those who Sit in his own Chair; And though People are very apt to begin the Quarrel here, yet methinks they should be more fearful of breaking Communion with their Pastors, if they did Consider, That this is the Door, by which always Schism enters; for it is not Conceivable how they should forsake Christian Communion, but by deserting their Pastors in their Pastoral Office. Hence the Fathers, (especially *St. Cyprian*, then whom no man better understood or wrote of this Case upon all Occasions) as they usually describe a particular Church by the Union of the Flock to their Pastor, so they define Schism by a Separation from the Bishop; Not that they meant it is no more, but that that is the Act which makes the Schismatick, and that by leaving his proper Bishop, he forsakes not only the Communion of that particular Church, but of all other Churches, of whose Communion that Bishop is; And Consequently the Communion of the Catholick Church, if he be truly a Catholick Bishop; And hence I think it may Appear, that for Maintaining Christian Communion in Christs Body, the People must be United to their Pastors, and that not only with Respect to Preaching the Word, publick Prayers and the Use of the Sacraments, but also with Regard to Matters of Discipline and Government, without which Order and Regular Proceedings in the Church, it cannot be upheld. Upon this Score the primitive Christians were so Observant of the Rules, Orders and Censures of their Bishop, That if any Man fell under the Sentence of Excommunication, they for so much as Related to them, vigorously put it in Execution, and not only would not suffer such a One to joyn in Communion, but would not so much as Eat, Drink, Converse, or ordinarily Traffick with Him; Which Practice seems to have had its Foundation from that of *St. Paul*, (2 Thes. 3. 14.) *If any Man obey not our Word by this Epistle, Note that Man, and have no Company with him, that he maybe Ashamed.* As also from that, (1 Cor. 5. 11.) *Now I have written unto you, not to keep Company, if any Man that is called a Brother be a Fornicator, or Covetous, or an Idolater, or a Railer, or a Drunkard, or an Extortioner, with such an One, No, not to Eat.*

XIII. But that a Firm Christian Unity may be in the Church of God, it is not sufficient, that the Flock continue in a due Subjection to, and steddy Communion with their Pastor, unless the Pastors themselves Maintain a fair Correspondence, and keep due Order one amongst another, *For if the Trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall Prepare himself to the Battel?* (as the Apostle saith, 1 Cor. 14. 8.) how is it possible, that an Army should be Unanimous in it self; or Employ its full force against the Enemy, if the Commanders Agree not, but give out contrary Orders? Nor is it possible, That the Unity of the

Church should be preserved, if the Pastors Govern their Flocks, not in Conjunction, but Opposition to each other, and set up such termes of Communion, as other Churches cannot approve, but must withdraw from; It is indeed true, That every Bishop in his particular Church, hath a kind of Sovereign Authority, and is to Govern his Flock *Rationem Aliis, sui Domino rediturus*, (as St. Cyprian more then once phraseth it,) Hence it is, That in some things a Christian Man is bound to Observe the Orders of his own Church, and obey his own Bishop, before any, if not all the Bishops in the Christian World; But then, this Authority must not be stretch'd beyond the Bounds of his own particular Church; And hence arose those several different and often contrary Usages and Customes in several Churches, which were not excepted against, because they belonged to the Power of each particular Church, and consisted in such things, That he that Communicated after the one Manner in one Church, might Lawfully Communicate after the contrary in another. Of this Nature was that known different Usage of old, between the Churches of *Rome* and *Millan*; In the former they Fasted on Saturdays, in the latter not. And therefore St. Ambrose, who was truly as stout a Bishop as ever the Church had, though he strictly Required Obedience to the Orders of his own Church, yet at *Rome* was as Observant of theirs, and Advised St. Augustine's Mother *Monica* to do the same. The Reason must be fetch'd from the Nature of the Things, which being indifferent in themselves, might be Lawfully practis'd either Way, and therefore were in the Power of every Church to determine or not determine, as She found most for her good and Advantage; But when these Things are determined, Obedience put on the Nature of Duty, and Disobedience of Sin: But though every Bishop, in Respect of his particular Church or Flock, hath (according to the Old Ecclesiastical Language) his Throne, yet in Relation to the Catholick Church he is but a principal Member, who in Conjunction with Others of the same Authority is to Share in care of the whole; And therefore in Matters which have an Influence on Catholick Communion, he is Accountable to his Colleagues or Fellow Bishops, and for any Misdemeanour herein may by them be Suspended, Deposed or Censured, as they or a convenient part of them shall judge Meer, for the preservation of the Churches Peace. And in this Case the Bishops of other Churches did not only Exhort, but Require both the subordinate Clergy and the People to Refuse Communion with their Bishop, though in all other Cases the separating from the Communion of their Bishops, and the Erecting another Altar, or setting up a Conventicle against him, was Accounted the peculiar Signature of Schism. And the Reason is plain, for though they could not hold Communion with the Church, but by Maintaining Communion with their Bishop, yet they did Communicate in that Church as a part of the whole; And if he did break off from the whole,

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or was Injurious to the whole, if they should Adhere to him therein, they must follow his Fate; And therefore here they might desert him, and cleave to some other sound part, and joyn in Communion Approved by Orthodox Bishops. The Reason of the Bishops absolute Power in one respect, and his Subjection in another, seems to be briefly Couched in that short Saying of St. Cyprian, *Episcopatus unus est, cuius à singulis in solidum pars tenetur.* (do un) for though he held but part of that Episcopacy, by which the whole Church (*Concordi multorum Episcoporum numerositate*) was Governed; yet holding that *Parce in solidum*, he had the full Episcopal Authority, and was a Catholick Bishop, and his Orders according to their Nature ought to be Heeded by all Bishops: But then what he held *in solidum*, being but *Parce Episcopatus unius*, he was Bound to Exercise his Office in Conjunction with them, who were equal Sharers with him; And herein was Answerable to his Fellow-Bishops for any detriment or injury done by him to their Common Office and Common Charge. Hence a Bishop was in some things Obnoxious, even to the debility and loss of his Character, (as Spalato hath proved against the fond device of the Schools *lib. 2. cap. 4.*) and was bound at his peril, not only to Preach the same Faith, but to Walk and Act according to the Cannons of the Church; And yet in other Things, his Act was sufficient to Tie up all the Bishops in the Christian World; Both which Things are an invincible Evidence of the Sense of Antiquity, of their Participation of the same Office, and of their Obligation to, and dependance upon each other in the discharge of it. Hence it was, that when a Bishop was placed in any Vacant See, though he was never so Canonically Ordained yet he was bound to send abroad his Circular Epistles to other Bishops, to Signifie his due Admission to that great dignity, and withal to give in a Summary of his Faith, that they might Admit him to Catholick Communion, and upon occasion might Communicate with him, and Assist him in the just discharge of his place: If he afterwards fell into Heresie, or did any irregular Act, he was Tryable by his Peers, and might be Censured according to his demerits. On the other Hand, what wholesome Orders he made for the good of his own particular Church, those, who came from any other Church thither, were bound to observe them; And if he justly put any Person under the Sentence of Excommunication, upon his Certifying thereof with the Cause, all other Bishops and all other Churches were bound to take that Person for Excommunicate, wherever he came, and to Reject him from their Communion; For in Cases of this Nature, every Regular Act of Authority in one Church, was Regarded as the Act of the whole Church; And thus in all things particular Churches Acted in Relation to, and Communion with the Catholick, and Maintained their Unity Firm and Inviolable.



XIV. My Design hath been to Write a Chapter, not a Treatise of Christian Unity, and therefore I may be excusable, if I have not Hit every thing, though I perswade my self, that had we these, the rest would not be wanting; But my fear is, that my Accusation will rather Lye on the other Hand, That I have laid the Platform of such a Unity as in all its parts is no where on Earth to be found; And though the more is the pity, yet possibly it is too true: But then this Objection Amounts to no more (though that, God knows, is too much) then to shew the deplorable state of the Church, and the woful degeneracy of Christians; For the Religion we profess Requires such an Unity; And *de facto* it has been had and practised in the Church; And till it be Restored, I see little Hopes that Matters can be brought to Rights, and that they are not, they must Answer who are the true Cause: If any enquire, What particular Persons in this Case are to do? I Answer, that invincible Impediments may excuse *à tanto* but not *à toto*, where we cannot do all we should, yet we must do all we can: But more particularly, I think, *First*, That every Man ought to joyn in Communion with that Church wherein Gods Providence hath placed him, if he cannot justly Charge the termes of its Communion with Sin. Otherwise there will be no End of Separation, and the Breach will daily grow wider, *Secondly*, That our Judgements and Censures on those from whom we depart, be moderated with Charity; that we pick not Quarrels without a cause, nor Represent them worse in Opinion or Practice then they are; for this exasperates and alienates Mens Hearts from Peace. Some Persons have seemed to Me to have read their Adversaries Books with a Design to mistake them, which (alas!) is too easily done without giving our Minds to it. *Thirdly*, that in separate Communion, Proposals might be made how far they can come up to each other, that it may be known how far they do agree, and that unquiet Spirits may not bear the Ignorant in Hand, that they agree in nothing, and then that the true Causes of the Difference may be sett down, which would sett generous Spirits on Work to Remove these stumbling-Blocks, and make up the Breaches; At least, it would give opportunity to all Considerate Persons to weigh the Matter, to cast off real Scandals, and to come nearer together as they saw cause. *Lastly*, That all Persons be desirous of true Christian Union and Communion, that they heartily pray for the Peace of *Jerusalem*, and to their power in their several Capacities endeavor it; That we come short of this Unity is our Unhappiness, and no Honour to our Religion; But if any do not truly desire it, I see not how they can be excused from Schism, or somewhat worse; for such seem to be insensible and regardless of the Honour of Gods Church, the Glory of his Name, the Peace, Comfort and Encouragement of Christians one amongst another, and the daily Advancement and Propagation of the Gospel of Christ; From which kind of temper the Lord preserve every One who calls himself a Christian.

## CHAP. III.

*Of the Nature of Schism.*

I. **O**UR Religion is so Unchangeable, *That if an Angel from Heaven should come and teach any other, then what we have already Received, he ought to be Accused;* And therefore the nearer we come to the first Settlement, the surer we are to be in the Right; But some Men so doat on their fond Devices, and are so bewitched with the pleasure of Coyning New Notions, that not content to delude themselves, they labour all they can to perswade others, that every thing that is old is ugly and to be Abominated. Thus that sweet Harmony of the primitive Christians, whereby they preserved their Body Sound, against the Malice of Hereticks and Schismaticks, enjoyed free Communion in all Places, and were no where destitute of Comfortable Support and Assistance, whether Spiritual or Temporal, this (I say) has either been imputed to the folly of the first Converts, or the Tyranny of Hereticating Bishops: But if there was any thing ill, and of Mischievous consequence to Religion, for this they became zealous Advocates, were ready to tell us, That the Devil is not so black as he is Painted, and so palliate the Matter, that at length they would draw it in to be useful. Amongst Matters of this Nature nothing hath found more Patrons then Schism. Some have shuffled it to and fro, till they have lost it; and some have Trick'd and Trimm'd, and Sett it out for such a pretty harmless thing, as would almost tempt One to be in love with it. But being I have said enough in the first Chapter to prove Schism a Sin of a deep Dye, I shall forbear to inveigh against it, and Sett my Self rather to make a discovery of it, that the Rock appearing we may be the better able to avoid it.

II. Schism in its general Notion signifies any Rent, Rupture, Division, Separation or Solution of Continuity: But in an Ecclesiastical Sense, as applied to the Church, it denotes some Breach or Separation among the Members or parts of that Body, growing so high as to cause Bandying into Parties, and setting up distinct and opposite Communions, or the like: But because all Separation is not Schism, and that which is not always sinful, therefore it may be convenient to enquire, by what means Separations are made, what Separation is Schism, and what Schism is sinful.

III. Those Persons who are so far from any Communion in the Church, that they never did or would receive and embrace the Gospel of Christ Jesus, are really separated and excluded from his Body the Church; But then

then in this they cannot properly be said to depart from it. or make any Schism in it, because they were never of it, nor any way Related to it. And therefore their Crime is not stiled Schism, but Infidelity; And the Persons Infidels or Heathens, not Schismatics.

IV. Some Persons have Professed the Faith, and Lived in the Communion of the Church, but through the powerful Instigations of the Devil, the strong temptations of Worldly Advantages, Sense of Torments, dreadful Apprehensions of Danger, or the like ill Motives, have Renounced not only the Communion of the Church, but the Faith of Christ; But these are not properly Schismatics; for Schism doth import some Relation still to the Church, though it suppose a disorderly behaviour in it, and a Breach and Violation of its Peace and Unity: But these are wholly gone off, and their Crime is in it self of a higher Nature, though many times not so Mischievous in its Effects; And it is commonly called Apostacy, and the Persons Apostates, or in the Modern Language Renegado's,

V. There is a third Sort of Persons who profess the Faith, and live in the Communion of the Church, but through Pride, Discontent, Wantonness, or the like Causes, are not careful to Attend to sound Doctrine, but fall into Errors, and Entertain and devise Opinions prejudicial to the Gospel of Christ, and the Salvation of Souls; But if these Men keep their Opinions to themselves, whatever damage they may bring to their own Souls, they can make no Ecclesiastical Schism; but if they Broach or Propagate them, then Schism is usually the Effect and Consequence of such doing; but their Denomination is from the particularity of their Crime, or obstinacy in their ill Opinions, which is called Heresy, and the Persons Hereticks.

VI. Now though Heresy is of that turbulent Nature, that it seldom fails to produce Schism, yet it may so be, that Persons may be Sound in the Faith, and yet through Pride, Discontent, Ambition, or the like ill Motives, may violate that Unity and Conjunction which ought to be amongst Christians in the Profession of the Faith and Duties it Requires: - So that Heresy seems to be opposed to the Verity and Soundness of Religion, Schism to the Union of Persons amongst themselves, professing Religion. Now because the Acts of this Unity consist in Christian Communion, and it cannot be otherwise expressed and manifested but by such Communion, therefore a Departure or Separation from that Communion must be that which we call Schism. Hence *Hesychius* explains *Ἐκκλήσια* by *ἀσκήσις*, which Signifies a Secession or Separation. And hence it appears, That every Heat, Quarrel or Brabble, (how faulty soever it may otherwise be,) doth not Amount to Schism, unless it so influence the Communion as to make a breach in that; And therefore neither that Contention between *Paul* and *Barnabas*, nor that Contest between *Polycarp* and *Anicetus*, nor that Difference between *Chrysostom*, and some who had

had been his Auditors, nor that sharp Conflict between the same *Chrysoſtom* and *Epiphanius*, nor that long debate between *Stephen* and *Cyprian*, were any of them to be Accounted or brought under the Notion of Schiſm; becauſe the Communion of the Church was ſtill kept up and Maintained by all the Parties; But when this Communion is violated and broken, then it comes to a direct and open Schiſm; And this may be done ſeveral wayes, all of them I pretend not to reach, and thoſe I ſhall mention I ſhall not dwell on.

VII. Some there are, who forſake the Communion of the Charch, but go not ſo far as to ſet up any oppoſite Communion, not that they have any honour for, or regard to Church-Communion, but that they think it unneceſſary, if not prejudicial. Theſe, though they ſeem not to Fly ſo high as others, in that they Vex not the Church with oppoſite Communion, yet they really overthrow all Communion, and deſtroy the whole publick Worſhip of God, wherein his People are United for his g'ory and their own benefit; And therefore theſe are nothing ſuch harmleſs Creatures as ſome think them; Amongſt theſe we may Reckon thoſe Rank Enthuſiaſts, who have overgrown Ordinances, and account themſelves far above all ſuch weak Helps and beggerly Elements.

VIII. I ſhall further propoſe it as a Queſtion, whether ſome Men by their particular Opinions or Declarations may not make themſelves Schiſmaticks, even whileſt they continue in the Communion of a Church that is truly of Catholick Communion? for though the Paſtor and Officers of the Church walk never ſo Canonically, and Perform all Services with relation to, and dependance upon the Catholick Church; yet if any Member ſhall ſo awkwardly adhere to this particular Church, as to oppoſe it to all others, and condemn all others, and reſuſe Communion with any other, he ſeems to Me to make himſelf a Schiſmatick; For though the Church be of Catholick Communion, yet he communicates in it upon Schiſmatical Principles, and makes it Schiſmatical to him. The Church indeed is in Communion with other Churches, but he communicates in it in oppoſition to other Churches; And this ſeems in ſome Meaſure to have been the Caſe of the Church of *Corinth*; *Paul*, and *Apollas*, and *Cephas* were all Miniſters of the ſame Chriſt; great Maſter-Buillers in his Church, and zealous Maintainers of its Communion; and yet ſeveral in the Communion of this Church, ſeems to have communicated upon narrower termes then the Conſtitution of it Required. For ſome were for *Paul*, and ſome for *Apollas*, and ſome for *Cephas*, and they that were for one were againſt the other two, and againſt all others, who did not joy with them in the ſame quarrel. I will not ſay but that it might go higher, and that there might be oppoſite Communion; That *St. Paul* there Planting the Goſpel, might leave ſo many Congregations in that Church as the Number of Converts required; That *Apollas* coming after upon the  
increase

increase of Converts, might leave them more Church-Officers, and increase the Number of their Congregations; And the first might stand stiffly for *Paul*, and the other for *Apollon*: However, the first is not improbable, and indeed both might be true successively; They might first clash in the same Communion, and then break into opposite Communions. But this I leave to the further Consideration and Censure of Others.

IX. Where there is such a Renunciation of Communion, as to set up opposite Communions, it may be Effected several Ways: Sometimes the Layety have forsaken their Pastors, Congregated into Bodies, and of their own Authority Raised distinct Communions; I will not here dispute whether they deserve that Name; but certainly this is the Height of Presumption and Madnes; for though it be true, which *Cora* said, (*Numb. 16. 3.*) *That all the Congregation are holy*; yet the sad Story that follows. assures us, That they are not therefore all Priests and Levites, and that they may not presume to enter upon, and promiscuously discharge that Sacred Office and Function. Sometimes Subject Presbyters, and other Church-Officers have forsaken their Bishop, carried away many of the Members of his Church, and gathered Sheep from all Quarters out of the true Fold; And this is the more Mischievous, as carrying along with it some Shew of Authority. Sometimes Bishops and their Churches have Rejected the Communion of other Bishops and their Churches; Sometimes in like manner Metropolitans have opposed Metropolitans, National Churches National, and Patriarchal Patriarchal. And the Schism is ever the more Mischievous, according to the Considerableness of the Persons concerned in it, or the extent of their Jurisdiction, or the Cause they divide upon. Too much of all this is in the present Divisions of the Christian World, which are managed with that Bitterness and Height, and have torn the Church so all-to pieces, that it is a Subject fitter for our Lamentation then Discourse.

X. And yet after all it must be Acknowledged, that all Separation is not sinful; for then wherever there was a Separation, they would be faulty on both Sides, as well they that made, as they that suffer by the Separation; Nay, if that should be granted, a Man might be necessitated to Sin, which he never is or can be. For if unsufferable Corruptions or sinful Usages be brought into a Church, whereof any Person is a Member, and set up as termes of Communion; He cannot Communicate without Sin, nor can he Depart without Sin, but unavoidably must Split upon one of these two Rocks: if all Separation be sinful; And therefore to discover that Schism which is Sinful or Criminal, we must bring it not only a Physical but a Moral Consideration. Such the Case may be, that the Separation may not only be lawful but necessary. It was Gods Command to the *Israelites* concerning *Babylon*, (*Jerem. 5. 45.*) *My People, Go ye out of the midst of her, and deliver ye every*



every Man his Soul from the fierce Anger of the Lord. And St. Paul, having described a Sort of ill Men, which in the latter times should infest the Chure, he gives this Charge to Timothy concerning them, (2 Tim. 3. 5.) *From such turn away.* Actual Separation therefore may sometimes be a Duty, when it is a Departure from those who have before departed from the Right, and violated the Unity, and corrupted the Communion of the Church. But being there ought to be no Separation, but upon the score of Avoiding Obligations to Sin, and no further then may secure us in that matter, there can be no Separation but there will be Sin on the one side or the other; And being the bare Separation may not only be lawful but duty, the Sin of Schism must Lie, where the cause and evil is found, and they are the Schismatics who unjustly cause the Breach. And indeed simple Separation doth not include the whole Nature of Schism in an Ecclesiastical Sense. For though those, who depart from any true Church of God, as it is a part of the Catholick Church, do break off from the Body; yet those, who depart upon just and warrantable Grounds, though they depart from the Schismatics, yet they do not forsake the Church of God, but continue in its Communion, and are Members of that Body; and therefore cannot be Schismatics: But I need not Discourse this any further, because (I think) it is Agreed on all Hands, that the Sin of Schism follows the Cause. Now from all that hath been said, this or the like Definition of Schism may be Gathered, That it is an unjust Violation, Breach or Solution of the Unity of the Church: Or (to express it more plainly) a Causeless Separation from Ecclesiastical Communion.

XI. How far some more moderate Person in the Church of Rome, may be willing to go along with Me in these Considerations, I cannot tell; the Generality of them I know go further; but that will not be the least part of that Controversie; However, here we must part. But because I do profess my self a Person, who doth deeply Mourn over that dismal state of the Church, to which these Divisions have brought it, (and that God, who knows the Secrets of all Hearts, knows that I say true) and do wish an End of their Broils, and would Contribute the utmost of my Endeavors to Repair the Breaches: And do moreover freely confess, That Schism is a Sin of a very dangerous Nature; it will therefore Concern Me to discharge my self, from being either a Partner in, or an Abettor of that Mischievous Evil, of which I Complain; And therefore now I shall endeavour to prove, not only that the Cause of the Schism between the Church of England and the Church of Rome lyes at the Church of Rome's door; But further, that let them pretend what they will, that Schism was first made, and still Maintained and Upheld for such Reasons as ought to be Strangers to the Christian Religion, and do drive on and keep up such an unwarrantable and sulsom Interest, as is not Consistent with the true State of Gods Church. If any

Man shall give me better Information, upon due Consideration I shall be willing to receive it, and thankful for it. But if any Man shall please to set himself against Me, I would desire him to deal with Me as a Man, who is of the Communion of the Church of *England* in sense of duty, who never gave up my self to any particular Party of Men, and who in all my Studies have had a Special Eye to the Advancement of the Peace of Gods Church, and the Satisfaction of my own Conscience.

## CHAP. IV.

### *Of the Liberties and Priviledges of the Britannick Churches: And of the Actual Separation.*

**H**E who would Build true, will first clear the Ground; And therefore I must crave leave to Remove some old Rubbish out of my way, before I can descend to some such particular Matters (for I pretend not to take in all) as I think may Justifie that Separation, which we now Maintain, (for we are not the Men who made it, but defend that Church, which we found, and were born and bred in, and therefore ought not to desert it without just Cause) Two things with no lack of Confidence are Urged as a Prejudice against our whole Cause. First, That those Churches, and even all their Bishops did owe a particular Subjection to the Bishop of *Rome*, either as Sole Vicar and Plenipotentiary of Christ Jesus on Earth, or at least as the Western Patriarch. Secondly, that supposing this to be otherwise, yet since the Separation Matters have been decided by a General Council, (*viz.* That of *Trent*;) to which all ought to submit. I shall Endeavor to give a fair Answer to both these Objections; But first must premise: That supposing, not granting the truth of either or both these Objections, yet of themselves they do not overthrow our Cause; for no Plea of any exorbitant Authority or Consiliar Determination can oblige us to a Sinsful Communion; And if that Plea be made good against them, all their other Arguments Vanish into Air; For the Holy Ghost never Assisted any Council to make wicked Determinations; Nor did the Ancients know of any such Exotick Power in the Pope, as that he might be Obeyed in every thing; for though several Matters contributed to gain him an extraordinary Respect in, and Influence on the Church, yet they held him to the Canons; And if he deviated from them or the Truth, they without scruple opposed him. When *Basilides* and *Macarius*, two Spanish Bishops, justly deposed, fled to *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*; And

by Lyes and Flattery so prevailed with him, that he not only admitted them to Communion, but endeavored to restore them; St. *Cyprian* smartly oppose it, writes not only to the Bishops, but even to the People there to refuse Communion with them, Commends the Substituting two other Bishops in their Room, and says, *That the Faults of Basilides in Endeavoring his Restoration by Stephen's means, were Non tam abolita, quam cumolata* (Epist. 68. dd. Pam.) I could bring Instances enough of this kind, but this being a by-matter in this place, I will leave it and Return to the Objections.

II. Two Titles are set up the better to secure us; But the one is purely forged: and the other is crackt, weak and bad, and not able to support the Claim which is Founded on it; It is hard to say, what Authority the Bishop of *Rome* doth not Challenge under the Notion of Christs Vicar; His Flatterers will scarce allow any Bounds to be Set to it, and Examine his Actions, and you will find that he Sets himself none. On this score, not only we, but all the Christian Churches in the World, which are not of the *Roman* Communion, are stigmatized for Schismatics: On the contrary I think, that there is no one thing that doth better Justify our Separation, then the Challenge, and (what in him lies) Exercise of such an Arbitrary and boundless Authority over all the Churches of God. Upon this Account this Matter will fall under a particular Consideration, as one of the principal Grounds and Reasons of our Separation; And therefore at present I will leave this great Vicar-General, and try if we can come to any better termes with the Western Patriarch.

III. This latter Title, as less liable to Exception, hath been insisted upon of late by some, who would seem to be of more moderate Principles, and more tender both of the Liberty and Authority of particular Churches: nor is it to be denied, That the Bishop of *Rome* had a Patriarchate in the Western part of the *Roman* Empire, but by what Authority he came by it, and how far it was extended, and whether he hath forfeited and justly fallen from it, and other Questions of the like Nature, will fall in of themselves in the Series of our Discourse. In the mean time, I do think this Title to be set up at this time only as a Blind to Amuse the more unwary and well Meaning Persons, who are willing to submit to Ecclesiastical Constitutions, though they detest all unjust, much more all insolent and shameless Usurpations; for if by a Charter from Christ he be his only Vicar, over the Universal Church, it is not only a Lessening of his Holiness, but a direct Affront to our Saviour, to Cope up his Deputy within Bounds, and to Give Him a limited Jurisdiction by Ecclesiastical Authority, when he is Invested with all by Original Right, and needs not any which they can Give; And it would certainly be much greater Satisfaction to the Christian World, to prove his Authority to be of God, rather then Men. Besides, I would gladly

know, whether the Bishop of *Rome* will Acquiesce here, and Rest Contented with the Title and Authority of the Western Patriarch? For Patriarchal Authority is by Ecclesiastical Constitution, and was at first Suited to the Divisions of the Empire, and the Grandeur of some principal Cities in it; And by the same Authority it was Given may be taken away, or placed elsewhere, as shall be judged most useful and beneficial to the Church of God. Now though all this may be easily proved, yet being applied to the Bishop of *Rome*, (and according to the present state of the Question, it is as applicable to him as any other Patriarch) I fear the whole College of Cardinals *Nemine Contradicente*, would Cry out, *Heretic, damnable Heretic*. And therefore the starting this Title at this time, I only look on as a Sly Device to let in the Cats Head, that she may with greater Ease draw in her Body after.

IV. But be it as it will, without any regard to any such ill Designs, which some Men may covertly Manage, let the Objection have its due force, and let us Examine, whether the Bishop of *Rome* as Western Patriarch, (so called in Relation to other Patriarchates in the Empire of another Site) had any peculiar and proper Jurisdiction over the *Britannick* Churches, or whether they were any part of his Diocess, as the word in its largest Acception signifies, A Division containing several Provinces? And this I think will be fully Answered: if I prove, That in Relation to the *Britannick* Church, either he had no such Jurisdiction, or none by Right.

V. That the Government of the Church was left in the Hands of the Bishops, I shall prove hereafter. But for the more convenient and advantageous Management of the Churches Affairs, there began very early a particular Deference, Respect and Obedience to be paid to the Bishop of the principal City, where the Secular Governour had his Residence. He at first was called *Episcopus prima Urbis*, or *Sedis*; Afterwards, a Metropolitan. But some overgrown Cities, whose Numbers, Wealth and Interest enabled them to overtop and oppress Others, as it were, Naturally Infused into their Bishops a Spirit of Ambition to extend their Jurisdiction and Power, Answerably to the Grandeur of their City. These Mens Encroachments were for a long time stoutly opposed, but Power naturally following Strength, Wealth and Interest, and an Advantage being given them by the New Division of the Empire by *Constantine*, they in the End prevail'd, and Graspt so large Jurisdiction as to have several Metropolitans under them, and obtained their first Ratification in the Council of *Chalcedon*, as our late Learned Bishop of *Oxford* hath clearly proved. (*Account of Church-Govern.*) These at first were called *Exarchs*, afterwards *Patriarchs*, and sometimes *Primates*. Of this new Booty, without fail, the Bishop of *Rome*, as Bishop of the most Renowned City in the World, and the Ancient Seat of the Empire, carried away no small Share; for he was always of King to the Lion in the Fable, who, when the Prey came to be divided,

divided, made the Beasts that Hunted with him, Content with a very small Instance, if he was so gracious as to allow any thing: But yet this New Exorbitant Power did not swallow up the whole Church, but in many Places they still Lived in their Ancient Liberty, Governed by their Bishops and Metropolitans, without being subject to any Pratriarch; of which the *Cyprian* Churches are a famous Instance in the East, and I can yet see nothing to persuade me to think otherwise of the *Britannick* in the West.

VI. Never any Succession of Men have stood so constantly on their Guard, and have been so watchful, diligent and industrious upon all occasions, to depress others and Exalt themselves, as the Bishops of the *Roman See*: All was Fish that ever come to their Net; If they could at any time steal into a Jurisdiction, though never so unjustly, they would never quit it, or not without strong Tugging and eternal Claiming. And therefore Considering this Temper it were a fair Proposal, that Setting aside Flams and Impertinencies, they would produce any fair Footsteps of a proper Jurisdiction exercised by the Bishop of *Rome* over the *Britons*, within the space of a Hundred years after the Council of *Chalcedon*; For when Men have always been so busie in Acquiring, so tenacious in Keeping, so severe in Exercising Jurisdiction, and want no Records, (unless what themselves have either falsified or abused); That these Men can produce no good Evidence for such a Jurisdiction, to Me it seems a good Argument, that from the Beginning there was none. If bare Claims, (and those coming after) were enough, no Man could live in Peace: And therefore he that will thrust another out of possession for his own benefit, must well and clearly prove his Title. Had these Islands belonged to the *Roman* Patriarch, there was no strength in them to have kept out his Power, when it was back'd with the least Shew of Right. If therefore it cannot be proved, that the Bishop of *Rome* was in possession of such Jurisdiction, here, at or near the time that Patriarchates were settled, he may let his Suit fall; unless he have more Hopes from force or fraud, then Right; In this Case, if in any, that Common Rule, *Idem est non esse, & non apparere*, hold good; And the rather, because the Canon that Confirms Patriarchates, supposeth the former Exercise of such Jurisdiction by Custom. What by degrees he gained long after, may serve well enough to prove him an Usurper, but can Create him no Right, as I shall prove Anon.

VII. Now though it be all the Reason in the World, that if the *Romanists* will pretend a Title, they should prove it; yet I will not barely insist upon Possession on our part, without giving some Reasons that may manifest our Right to it. If the Patriarchate of the Bishop of *Rome* was Confined to the Suburbicary Churches, it is most certain, that the *Britons* lay too far off to be Hook'd in by that Title; What other Evidence can be brought for the certain Bounds of his Patriarchate, I cannot tell; I have met with no better:

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And this having been plainly Assigned to him, it will concern them to bring their Proofs, who will extend it further, and therefore I will not longer insist on it. Yet this among other Reasons moves me to think, that as Patriarch he had no proper Jurisdiction either over the *Gallican* or *Spanish* Churches, and divers others, otherwise then as he might sometimes interpose as an Honourary Arbitrator, or at other times upon a nicking Opportunity with the diligence of a watchful Usurper, invade their Rights. That the *French* Churches came not under his Authority in the same way and manner, that some Others did, the Liberties of the *Gallican* Churches so stoutly Maintained to this very day, are an irrefragable Instance; And perhaps that is almost the only Church of the *Roman* Communion, which affords us any Hope, that the Cause may one day come to a more equal Hearing, and Matters be brought more to Rights in the Church of God. But as for our selves, if the Bishop of *Rome* never Exercised any such Patriarchal Jurisdiction over the *Britons*, nor would they own or submit to any such (considering the low Estate of the One, and the Power, Arts and indefatigable Industry of the other) it will be a Convincing Argument to any unprejudiced Person, that he never had any such Jurisdiction here; That he did Exercise any such Jurisdiction, I deny; And it will Concern them to Convince Me by clear Instances of the contrary, who will Assert it; But if it were possible, that they could tell me Five Hundred Tales of Persons sent over hither by the Bishop of *Rome*, I shall not Value it one Rush. For if wherever he sends one of an Errand, he Requires the Jurisdiction of the place, as he hath the Privilege which never Man had; so if he hath not been very negligent and false to his own Interest, he might long since have gained the Jurisdiction of the whole World, and that is certainly too much for a Patriarch, which is our present dispute. But though I am not bound to prove the Negative, yet to shew that he could have no such Jurisdiction, I shall produce two Arguments, the one taken from the different Rites and Usages of the *Britons* from the *Romans*; The other from the *British* Bishops downright disclaiming such Authority, and Asserting and Proving their Liberty.

VIII. Doubtless it doth more Concern us to be truly thankful, that God hath Vouchsafed us the Light of his Gospel, and to be careful to live according to it, then scrupulously to enquire after the precise time, when the *Britons* Received the Christian Faith. But if Enquiry should be made, (which in our present Case may not only be allowable but useful) I am prone to think it would appear, That the *British* Churches were so far from being the Slave, that they were the Elder Sister of the Church of *Rome*; And if neither the Gift of Christ, nor the Canons of the Ancient Church have dealt her any hard Measure in this Matter, certainly the Prerogative of her Birth-right ought to invest Her with some Honour and Privilege, at least to Shield Her from

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Truckling too much to the Power and Petulance of her younger Sister: And the rather because she hath not been unfruitful, as having brought forth the first Christian King, furnished the World with the first Christian Emperour, afforded the first (call her as you please) Christian Queen or Empress, and of all Others first so Received the Faith, that it was the publick, Allowed and Authorized Religion of the place; in which Respect she hath sometimes been Honoured with the Title of *Primogenita Ecclesia*; But to pass by these Honourary Titles, it is generally Agreed, That the *Britons*, as in several other Matters, so especially in the Observation of the Feast of *Easter*, did differ from the *Romans*: And to find out the true Reason of this, I think the best Way will be to look still higher, even to the first times of Christianity. Our blessed Saviour was so far from separating from the Jewish Church, that he made them his particular Care and Charge, and seems to have so designed all his Labours for their Conviction and Reformation, that all Nations might have been Aggregated to them in his Name; And therefore he was generally say towards Others, and being Urged with Arguments in favour of the Woman of *Canaan*, plainly Answers, (*Math. 15: 24.*) *I am not sent, but unto the lost Sheep of the House of Israel.* This Honour towards the Jewish Church, (the only Church of God then on Earth) and Care that it might not be lost, but rather that the Wall of Separation being broken down, all Others might be let in to Her, continued with the Apostles and Disciples of Christ, after his Death and Resurrection, for they remained still at *Jerusalem*, preaching to the Jews. And when the Cruelty of *Herod*, and Malice of the Jews followed them so close, that they were many of them forced to Fly out of *Jerusalem* to save their Lives, yet their kindness to the Jews, and Hopes of their Conversion still stuck close to them, in so much that those, who were scattered upon the Persecution of *Stephen*, and went as far as *Phenice*, *Cyprus* and *Antioch*, Preached the Word to none but the Jews only; (*Acts 11: 19.*) And there was need of no less then a Miracle to perswade *Peter* to go and instruct *Cornelius* a Gentile in the Way of Truth; (*Acts 10.*) and though he did go upon such unanswerable Motives, yet he was called to an Account for it: The going in unto Men Uncircumcised was thought a Crime not to be suffered, unless extraordinary Reason could be given for it. And perhaps this Tenderness towards the Jews might be no small cause of *Peters* Judaizing at *Antioch*. Now whilst the Disciples did Adhere so close to the Jews, it is not only Reasonable to suppose, that they Used their Customes and Rites; But we have Scripture Testimony of some Instances, wherein they did so, as in the matter of the Sabbath, (though they kept also the Lords Day) and Circumcision, and some other things. And therefore it is likely, that they did observe with them their other Fasts and Feasts, especially that which was accounted the Principal, the Passover. For as they look'd upon these things as in their own Na-

tures, to be matters then indifferent, so they did hope to draw off the Jews by degrees, and to let the Law of *Moses* go off Honourably rather by Disuse then Contempt. And this Practice continued for some time after the Conversion of divers of the Gentiles by the Disciples, who were dispersed by the Persecution at *Jerusalem*. And therefore I take that Plea of *Polycrates* for his different Observation of *Easter* from *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, to be a Testimony of the very early Conversion of those *Asiatick* Churches, and that they were of the First fruits of Christianity. But after that God, by bestowing the Holy Ghost on the Gentiles, and other clear Signes and Indications of his Will, had Convinced all the Apostles and Ministers of the Word, that it was not only lawful, but their Duty to make known the Words of Eternal Life unto the Gentiles, and the Gentiles upon their Preaching in all places did plentifully Flock into the Church, then in those Gentile Churches Christian Liberty began in a greater Measure to be Maintained against the Mosaical Rites. And now *Paul*, who Circumcised *Timothy*, refused to Circumcise *Titus*; yea, even the Council at *Jerusalem* disburthen of all those Matters except some few things, which the Necessity of the Times would not permit them to take off, unless they should have utterly disobliged the Jews, of whom they had some Hopes. And about this time it is probable began the strict Observation of the Lords Day, with the Neglect of the Sabbath; And the Celebrating the Resurrection, not on the precise time of the Jewish Passover, but on the first day of the Week, (Called the Lords Day, from his Resurrection on that day) next following the Fourteenth of the Moon. And yet though this was Allowed in the Gentiles, yet in Communion with the Christian Jews, a greater Regard was had to the Law; And therefore when that great Assertor of the Gentiles Liberty *St. Paul*, came up to *Jerusalem*, though the Disciples Approved what he had done, yet they Advise Him to go purifie himself in the Temple, and do such other Matters, that he might Appear according to the Opinion of the Jews, to Walk orderly and keep the Law, (Acts 21.) But when neither Pains, Patience nor Arguments could prevail, but the Jews became more obstinate then ever in Adhering to the Mosaical Rites, and obruded them upon all Others, with the Opinion of such absolute Necessity that they became a Scandal to the Gospel, and made the Death of Christ in vain, and upon this Account were the Implacable Enemies of the Christians in all Places; Then to Vindicate the Gospel the Christians were under a Necessity to depart from them; And those, who before Complied all that could be with them, now lest they should seem to Countenance the Opinion, That Salvation was by the Law of *Moses*, not by the Faith of Christ Jesus, Fled as far as they could from them, and would not joyn with them in, or Practise any of the Rites peculiar to the Law of *Moses*; for the Matter was now come to that pass, that they could not do it without betraying the Christian



Christian Religion; so that now ceased the Obligation to these Matters, which the Council at *Jerusalem* had formerly imposed in favour of the Jews, and Hopes to Win them. And hence it is probable, many Churches took Occasion to turn the Great Festival of the Jews the Sabbath into a Fast. And for this Reason amongst Others, *viz.* That they might not Ground their Festival from any Jewish Rite, or because they thought the Account not exact, they declined the Fourteenth of the Moon, and began that Fast on the Lords Day, reckoning from the Fifteenth to the One and Twentieth of the Moon. Now not to Run over the Stories of *Simon Zelotes*, *Joseph of Arimathea*, and Others, who are Celebrated for the first Planters of the Christian Religion in these Isles: From these Premises it is not irrational to Conclude, that the *British* Churches, observing the Feast of *Easter* after the Usage which obtained before the Separation from the Jews, and the *Roman* Church more exactly as was devised afterwards, the Gospel in all probability must have been Preached and Received in *Brittain*, some time before any Considerable Church was Gathered at *Rome*; And being this Usage continued for several Hundreds of Years, though the Bishops of *Rome* were so far from suffering it in, that they would scarce suffer it out of their Jurisdiction, it will follow, that these Churches were neither of *Roman* Conversion; nor *Roman* Jurisdiction.

IX. This Matter will be much clearer, if we now descend to Consider the Debates, Behaviour and Actions of the *British* Bishops towards *Augustine* the Monk, who was sent hither by Pope *Gregory* for the Conversion of the *Saxons*. But first to prevent mistakes I must tell you, that I have no design either to Vindicate the *British* Bishops in the Observation of *Easter*, or to condemn the *Roman*; It Matters not to Me who was right or wrong; but it is the Difference and the Grounds whereon it was Maintained, which serves my Ends. The *Britons* were not *Quartodecimani*, as some have supposed; for those kept the Feast on the Fourteenth of the Moon, on what day of the Week soever it fell; but the *Britons* expected the Lords Day. But I suppose none now will Contest it, but that the *Romans* were most exact and right in their Observation; but then that arose from this Nicety, That the Law of *Moses* Commands the Paschal Lamb to be slain in the Evening of the Fourteenth day of the first Month: Now according to the Jewish Account, who Reckoned the foregoing Night to the following day, that must be on the Beginning of the Fifteenth day: And the *Britons*, who Reckoned not from Sunset, but from Sun-rise, and so on the contrary joyned the following Night to the foregoing day, could not see this, but must of course take the Evening following the Fourteenth Day, to be part of the Fourteenth Day. And therefore their Practice being suitable to their Common Conceptions; And having obtained amongst them from their first Entrance into Christianity, it was

unreasonable that those, who had no Jurisdiction over them, should impose an Alteration upon them, and still worse to raise irreconcilable feuds, and make Divisions in Gods Church for such a matter; As if a Man could not be a good Christian, without being an exact Astrologer, and Critically cunning in the Customs of other Nations.

X. But to Return to our Matter. *Mauritius*, according to *Beda*, (*Eccles. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 23.*) came to the Empire in the Year 582; In the Tenth Year of his Reign *Gregory* came to the Papedom; And he in the Fourteenth Year of the same Emperours Reign sends *Augustine* to the Saxons, so that *Augustines* first Mission was about the Year 596, But though he and his Companions seemed to set forth with great Cheerfulness and Resolution, yet whether from the dread of a Warlike and barbarous People, or from an Apprehension of their inability for the Work, as not understanding the Language, or what other Cause I know not; After mature deliberation in Council they fairly tack about, and Sail back again. This much troubled the good Pope, who by all Circumstances seems to have Set his Heart on this Work; And he had the greater Reason for it, because it was already half done to his Hands; And therefore he gently Reproves these faint-hearted Souldiers, but takes greater pains to encourage them; And that they might want nothing to Fit them for the Work, he Sends and Recommends them to *Etherius* Archbishop of *Aries*, who furnish th them with Interpreters *de Gente Francorum*, (*Bed. Eccles. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 24. & 25.*) And now away they go for good, and Land in the Isle of *Thanet*, and perhaps there was no great difficulty in Converting King *Ethelbert*, for it was now about 150 Years since the Coming in of the Saxons; And though their Quarrel was with the *Britons*, yet they could not in all that time but understand somewhat of the Christian Religion from them. Besides, *Ethelberts* Queen was a Christian, and *de Gente Francorum Regia* (as *Beda* phrases it); And it was Conditioned at her Marriage, That She should have the free Use of her Religion; And the Condition was duely kept; for whereas the King had his Court in *Canterbury*, the Queen had for her Use the then Ancient Church of *St. Martin* standing at the Towns-End, and her Bishop *Lindhardus*, who Officiated; And any Body will suppose, That both She and her Bishop would do all they could to influence and persuade the King: Further, *Beda* (*Eccles. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 25.*) saith expressly, though somewhat mincingly, That *Anea fama ad eum Christiana Religiois pervenerat*. And *Gregory* the Great in one of his Letters saith, *They were desirous of it*. And who so ever shall duely Consider the whole Behaviour of King *Ethelbert*, will find in him no Aversion to the Christian Religion, but that like a wise Prince he only took care so to manage the Matter, that he might Receive it with the Satisfaction of his Subjects, and draw them to it after him. Well, in a short time the King is Converted, and *Augustine* becomes his Favourite:  
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And yet before this, with the true Industry of a Monck, he Lends the Honest Bishop *Linhardus* a Lift, who had prepared Matters for him, and by the Kings Favour gets Possession of *St. Martins Church*. And here I know not well how to excuse *Beda* from Partiality. For he saith as little as could be ore, but henceforward not a word of the endeavors of the Queen or her Bishop, nor a tittle of all the labor and pains of the *French* Intetpreters, without whom this our *English* Apostle could have done nothing; But *Augustine*, like a true Son of the *Roman Church*, goes away both with all the Honour and all the profit. And now being grown too great for a Monck, he makes a Journey to *Arles*, and by the Arch-bishop of that place, at the Motion of *Pope Gregory*, is Ordained no less then *Archiepiscopus Gentis Anglorum*, (*Bed. Eccl. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 27.*) a pretty Fetch before New Converts understood themselves, to secure the whole Authority of the Nation to a *Roman* Missionary, and consequently to the Pope, whoever should be afterwards at the pains to convert them. However, after his Return he seems to have Laboured in the business, and after the Death of *Pope Gregory*, which *Beda* (*Eccl. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 1.*) Refers to the Year 605, he obtains a Conference with the *Brittish* Bishops, with a design to get their Assistance in converting the *Saxons*, and withal to Advance Himself by drawing them under his Jurisdiction; But whether in Hatred to the *Saxons*, their Mortal and indeed unjust Enemies, or through offence at *Augustines* Pride and taking too much upon him, or in love to their old Customes, which *Augustine* unseasonably would not allow, the main Business miscarried, and then first Arose the *Paschal Controversie* in *Britain*, so that at first dath here Ariseth a Prescription of about 600 Yeares for the *Brittish* Usage.

XI. The Grounds whereon the *Britons* proceeded seem to be Chiefely these, That they would not give up their Ancient Liberties and Customes, nor depart from the Canons of the Church. And here *Beda* shews himself little favourable to their Affaires, as at other times he appears very ignorant in them; for though he studiously Conceals *Augustines* Ambition, yet the *Britons* Answers plainly discover it. For their first Answer is this *Non se posse absque suorum consensu ac Licentia Præseis abdicare Moribus*. And in the second Meeting or Synod their Answer is plainly this, That they will not Receive Him for their Arch-bishop, (*Bed. Ecc. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 2.*) But the Answer of the Abbot of *Rangor* shews the Reason, why they neither could, nor ought to do it; and is so pat to the purpose, that I shall set it down as *Sir Henry Spelman* hath Translated it from the *Brittish*, (*Co. pag. 108.*) *Be it known, and without doubt unto you, That we all are, and every one of us Obedient and Subjects to the Church of God, and to the Pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, and to love every One in his degree, in perfect Charity, and to keep every One of them, by word and deed to be the Children of God; And other Obedience than this I do not know due, to Him*

whom you Name to be Pope, nor to be the Father of Fathers to be Claimed and to be Demanded; And this Obedience we are ready to give and to pay to him, and to every Christian continually. Beside, we are under the Government of the Bishop of *Caerleon* upon Uske, who is to Oversee, under God, over us, to Cause us to keep the Way Spiritual. This Answer throughout savours the temper of the most early Primitive times, and shews, That the Afflictions of the *Britons* had kept their Churches from that Corruption and secular Pride, which had then too much invaded Others; And from it I will only observe three things. First, That with a tender Care to express their Communion with the Catholick Church, and their duty to all Christians, they own no other Obedience to the Bishop of *Rome*, then as Christians they owe to any other Foreign Bishops and their Churches; And so the Bishop of *Rome* owed as much to Them as they to Him. Secondly, That the Authority which *Augustine* demanded, and the Power of any Foreign Bishop to place him over them, was a thing utterly unknown and unheard of to them; so little were they Acquainted with the Patriarchate, which is now so Confidently Asserted. Thirdly, that they were so subject to the Arch-bishop of *Caerleon*, That they did not think him subject to the Jurisdiction of any other particular Bishop whatsoever, but that he was over them next under God. And accordingly we never hear of any Appeals from him to any Superiour See; But if any thing concerned them in Common, or was too weighty for him, it was Transacted Synodically. And it is Observable, That though the *British* Bishops and Clergy Flockt to this Synod with their main strength, yet the Arch-bishop of *Caerleon* absented himself, in all likelihood either in indignation at *Augustines* Claim, or lest his Appearance should seem any ways in the least to Countenance that Superiority, which he Challenged over him. The Effects of this Synod were very unhappy, for the *Britons* went away so Enraged at *Augustines* Pride and Pretences, that they would not Afford the least Assistance towards the Conversion of the *Saxons*; Nay, when they were Converted, it is Apparent, That they looked on them as Schismatics, or worse, and would have no Communion with them: And in this untoward Humour they persisted, even when the *Saxon* Kings had brought the *British* Kings under some kind of Subjection. This is evident from *Beda*, (*Ecc. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 20.*) who telling us, how *Carduella* King of the *Britons* Rebelled against *Edwin* then principal King of the *Saxons*, and by the Help of *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, slew both Him and his only Son, and utterly Routed his whole Army; after he had bestowed some ill words on them both for their pains, he has this Remarkable Passage concerning *Carduella* and the *Britons*, *Sed nec Religioni Christiane, qua apud eos exorta erat, aliquid impendebat Honoris: quippe cum usque hodie Moris sit Britonum, Fidem Religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere, neque in aliquo eis magis Communicare, quam Paganis.* So that hence it is plain, That they continu'd the same not only after

after *Augustine's* time, but even to *Beda's*. But to Return again to *Augustine*, he being every way defeated of his purpose, meditates Revenge, and incenseth *Ethelbert* so highly, That he stirs up *Edilfrid* King of the *Northumbrians*, and they together made that lamentable Slaughter of the Monks of *Bangor*, which *Beda*, and after him the *Romanists*, as one Man Account as a Signal Judgement of God upon their Obstinacy; But Others say, it was a Contrivance, and that God more Signally Vindicated their Innocence; For three *British* Princes with their Mirmidons met them both, whilst they were Reeking hot with the Blood of these Innocents, and killed above ten Thousand of their Men, sore Wounded *Edilfrid*, and warmly pursued *Ethelbert*, by which means their sinking Spirits were Recruited, their Wrongs in some Measure Revenged, and their Borders enlarged as far as the *Humber*, (*Spel. Co. pag. 111. & seq.*)

XII. Hitherto the *Britons* preserved their Ecclesiastical Liberties entire, though they had lost the best part of their Country; And neither *Augustine's* Reasons, nor *Ethelbert's* Armies, could prevail with them to give up those just Rights, which they had been so long possessed of. But when *Augustine* died, *Laurentius* succeeds him, a Man both pious and prudent, and of a much sweeter temper than his Predecessor: And he in Zeal for the Propagation of the Faith Attempts to persuade not only the *Britons* but the *Irish* to joyn with him in the Work, only he seems very desirous, that they would all unite in observing *Easter* at the same time; But as for the *Britons*, they were so far from any Accommodation, that they would not Allow of any Communion with him: Nor was his success at present much better with the *Irish*, for though he Hoped to find them otherwise, yet he was deceived; and upon Discovery it is Acknowledged with some Grief. *Scottos* (i. e. the *Irish*, for *Beda's* *Scotti* are *Irish*) *nihil discrepare à Britonibus in eorum Conversatione*, (*Bed. Ecc. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 4.*) and the Behaviour of *Digamus* an *Irish* Bishop did not a little trouble him, of whom he has this Complaint, *Ad nos venient, non solum cibum Nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vesebamur, sumere voluit*, (*id. ib.*) so that it seems the *Roman* Bishops would have been content to have Communicated with the *British* and *Irish* Bishops, and allowed them Orthodox; but the other would not own them to be so.

XIII. By the Way give me leave to observe, That the *Britons*, *Scots* and *Irish* all unanimously Agreed in the same Religious Rites. As to the *Irish* and *Britons*, it appears from what hath been said already, and will be more evident from what shall follow. As for that part of the Island now called *Scotland*, it was then inhabited, partly by the *Scotti*, who Flockt thither out of *Ireland*, and from whom it afterwards took its Name; And partly by the *Britons* under the Name of *Ficks*: For he that Considers *Mr. Cambden's* Reasons to prove them *Britons*, will never be at the pains to fetch



fetch them so far as *Scythia*, (*Brit. iv. Picts*) And when *Beda* tells us of *Columbanus* an *Irish* Abbot going to Convert the *Picts*, he Confesses, That the Southern *Picts* had been Christians long before; and so might the Northern too: though it is probable, that living in those wilde Countreys, and continually Exercised in Wars and Rapine, they might be so far degenerated, that the Recovering them to the true senie and state of Christianity, might not unfitly be called a Conversion. Now as *Columbanus* was an *Irish* Man, so *Nynias*, who long before Converted the Southern *Picts*, was a Briton, And therefore doubtless both Taught the same Rites, wherein both People Agreed. But perhaps much stress is not to be laid on the Story, so far as it Relates to *Nynias*; For *Beda* tells that part of it with an *ut perhibetur*, nor was he well skilled in the Ancient *British* Affairs; And I am apt to think, That for the Honour of the *Roman* Way, which *Beda* upon all Occasions promotes, he patch'd that Piece to his Record say Tale, That *Nynias* was *Roma regulariter Fidem & Mysteria Veritatis edoctus*; for the Britons at that time had little or no Converse with the *Roman* Christians, though they ever kept a kind Correspondence and Friendly Communion with the *French*. Nor can I find one clear instance, that any part of the *British*, *Scotch* or *Irish* Churches, till after *Augustine*'s time, differed in their Religious Rites, especially as to the Observation of *Easter*. Nay, it will appear Anon, that the *Roman* Party themselves, yielded them to be Unanimous in this thing. Yea, *Beda* expressly Affirms, That *Omnis Natio Pictorum, &c.* The whole Nation of the *Picts* observe *Easter* the same Way. (*Ecc. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 3.*) And for the other it is out of Question.

XIV. But to Return to *Laurentius*; He was not only frustrated in his pious Design by the Britons and Irish, but fell soon after into a great deal of trouble; For after the Death of *Eshebert* Religion went backward amongst the Saxons, the Pagan Worship and Wickedness got Ground daily, and a dreadful Storm seemed to grow up apace, and Hang over the Heads of the Christians, in so much that *Mellitus* and *Justus* the Bishops of *London* and *Rocheſter*, discouraged with their ill success, and finding themselves not safe, Retire into *France*, and *Laurentius* was once Resolv'd to follow them. But it pleased God to be more merciful to these People, and propitious to his Endeavours; For he seems to have been a Man truly pious, and to have discharged all the Parts of a good Christian Bishop. And having happily Reclaimed King *Eadbald*, the Son and Successor of *Eshebert*, he recalls *Mellitus* and *Justus*. And now it is very Reasonable to suppose, That he Resolved to lay aside these Punctilio's and little Differences, and perswaded *Mellitus* and *Justus*, who both in their Turns succeeded him, to do the same; that they might be more serviceable to the main Christian Cause, and the Propagation of the Gospel; For though the Britons could by no means be Wrought on, as either  
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being Jealous of the *Roman* Clergy, or Exasperated by the Injuries which they had and daily did Receive from the *Saxons*; yet the *Irish* and *Scotch*, who had not the like Quarrel as to their Territories, in a short time fall to Labour in the Harvest, and that very successfully. But it should seem, that they first Agreed to enjoy their own Liberties and Rites. For those who were Converted by them of the *Roman* Way, kept *Easter* as the *Romans* did, and observed their Rites; And those who were Converted by the *Irish* or *Scots*, followed the *Irish* Customes, which were the same with the *Britons*, and yet both Communicated with each other, and joyntly promoted the Common Cause: And this with some little Disputes, which will always Happen in such Cases, continued without any breach of Communion, for a very Considerable time. *Aidan* a *Scotchman*, the first Bishop of the *Northumbrians*, preached the Gospel so powerfully, and lived so Exemplarily, That the *Romanists* themselves had him in no mean Veneration; Nor doth *Beda* (except in the Matter of the Paschal Solemnity, in which he forgives no Man) afford any Man a fairer or sweeter Character throughout his whole History. After seventeen Years toyl God sends him a Writ of Ease, and he is Succeeded by his Countryman *Finan*, who lived in the Seven Years; All this time both *Romish* and *British* Rites were promiscuously used, according as every Man was instructed by him, who converted him, and yet both Parties lived in great Charity and Christian Communion. And thus it held till the third year of *Coleman*, *Finan's* Successor, which was in the Year of our Lord 664. (*Beda. Ecc. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 26.*) And then that turbulent Fellow *Wilfrid* set it on Foot again, and violently push'd on so far, that a Synod or Conference was had about it, where the King, the Prince, several Bishops, and many of the Clergy appear. Now *Wilfrid* had subtilly nickt his time; for the King was wavering, the Queen and Prince sure on his side, and *Agilbertus* Bishop of the *West Saxons*, a stiff Assertor of the *Roman* Way, was then occasionally come to that Court. The King opens the Conference, and desires his Bishop *Coleman* first to relate upon what Grounds he Relied; The Summe of whose Answer is this, That he had Received the Tradition from his Forefathers, who had all unanimously observed it; That herein they followed *St. John* the beloved Disciple of our Saviour, and the Churches which he Governed; And that they had also on their side the Authority of *Anatolius*. Now considering how *Eusebius* relates Matters to have been long before Adjusted by *Polycarp* and *Anicetus*, (*viz.* That Charity and Christian Communion being preserved, each might follow the Ancient Customes of those whom they succeeded) Any one would think this so fair a Plea, that it might deserve both a Civil and a Satisfactory Answer. Yet *Wilfrid*, then but newly made a Priest, with a *Roman* Modesty puts the Fool upon the Good Bishop *Coleman* and his whole Party. His Answer is Related by *Beda* with all Advantage,

in which some things are true, some false. But it is Observeable, That he never tells them of any Missionaries from *Rome*, either to the *Britons*, *Irish*, *Scots*, or *Picts*; He never tells them, that they had received the Faith by means of the *Roman* Church; He never Charges them so much as with Ingratitude, or to have fallen from what they had received; Nay, he doth not deny such a Tradition amongst them, but impugnes it as a too early Tradition, as more Ancient then he pretended to, or ought to be followed; And that they were ignorant of what was established in the Church after the Separation from the Jews; And herein lies the main strength of his Plea. But of all things insisted on by *Wilfrid*, nothing was so luckily urged, as that *St. Peter* had the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven. For the King, in no small fear that he might be lock'd out if he displeased the Porter, presently gives the matter on *Wilfrids* side. But all this nothing moved *Coleman*, who chose rather to abandon his Bishoprick, then forsake his Ancient Customes, and seem to betray the Rights of those Churches and Bishops, who had Ordained and sent him thither; And accordingly he Retires into his own Countrey, with many others, who were of the same Persuasion: And no doubt but *Wilfrid* and the *Romanists* were well pleased, that they had all to themselves.

XV. These Considerations amongst Others, do with Me not a little shake the Credit of those Stories, that tell us how *Phaganus* and *Deruvianus*, (or by what other Names they are Called, for they have not less then Twenty between them) were sent by Pope *Elentherius* to King *Lucius*, *Palladius* and *St. Patrick* by *Celestine* to the *Irish*; or of any other Persons pretended to be sent before *Augustines* time. I do not deny, but that there were such Persons, who were famous in their Generation, and did eminent Service in the Church of God; But the Assertions of all our Moncks, and as many more, will not half perswade Me, that these Men were *Roman* Missionaries; For who can believe, That these Men should come with Instructions from *Rome*, and yet every one of them should Agree to Establish such Rites, as were not only different from the Church of *Rome*, but such as the Bishops of *Rome* were particular Enemies to? If any Man say, that these Rites in opposition to each other, had not clearly obtained, even in *Rome* it self so early, so far as Relates to *Easter*, that early Contest between *Polycarp* and *Anicetus* confutes it. But if it be said, that though such Usages were settled at *Rome*, yet they were not averse, but that Others might be Taught and Practised in other Countreys, then that Bussle which *Victor* made over all the Christian World will not suffer us to believe this. But that those very Men, who were sent by the Popes to Convert the *Britons*, should Establish those Rites and Usages, which they knew he would never endure, is such a Riddle, as wants a better *Oedipus* then Me to unfold it; And it is somewhat strange, that in all the Contests between

*Augustine*

*Augustine* and his Followers, with the *Britons* and *Irish*, not one of these Men should be Objected to the *British*, *Irish* or *Scotts*, that they should never be Check'd with Ingratitude to his Holiness; that it should never be said that they had been taught otherwise, and were fallen from their first Principles and Converters. It is very Rare, that the *Romanists* forget themselves so much, or are meal-Mouth'd in such Cases. And therefore it is not unlikely, that the Pope, in process of time becoming the bold Man, who Challenged the Command over all, the Moncks of after-times, owing their Privileges and unjust Exemptions from their Bishops to him, in Requital made him that busy active Man, who had ever done all; And therefore when they heard or read of any People Converted by any Person, imagining that he must have Authority from the *Roman See*, they without scruple plainly Asserted, that he was sent thence; And their Fictions must now pass for Historical Testimonies. And then as to the Persons pretended to be sent, *Deruvianus*, though Trimm'd for Sound sake, and set off with a *Latin* Termination, carries the plain Marks of a *British* Name, and some write him *Dwynan*, which the Criticks may, if they can, make *Latin* at their leisure; If it were lawful to Guess in this Case, I should think his Name was *Durwan*. The like might be said concerning *Phagantus*, but I pass it by. But then after the Conversion of *Luctus*, how these Men should so readily find their way in *Insulam Avalonia*, (*Glassenbury*) where had been a Retreat for the Religious ever since the Gospel had been Preached in this Isle, is somewhat strange; Perhaps, it was by Miracle, but it seems more probable, that upon Encouragement they came forth, or were sent from their Monastery, and having Accomplished their Work, either for Reasons to us unknown, or as a thing usual in those times, retired thither again. As for *Palladius*, from whence soever he came, it is certain he died too soon to effect any thing Considerable. And for *St. Patrick*, though there is no final Striving for him, yet the best Reasons Conclude him a *Briton*; And though some sell him to the *Irish*, some to the *Britons*, yet it is most likely that he was Conveyed away young to the *Irish*, like *Joseph* into *Egypt*, where in his Affliction learning their Language, he was the better Fitted for that great Work, for which God had designed him. These Men all left the *British* Rites in force, and made farther Improvements upon the Stock of Christianity, formerly planted in this Island, which things, (considering also, that they all along Claimed to derive from *St. John*) are a strong Evidence, That this Island was both of Early and Eastern Conversion. And perhaps that may be some Reason, that there are so many *Greek* words in the *British* Tongue, and in the same Signification in both Languages, it being very likely that they might receive them from those who first Converted Them to Christianity.

XVI. This Digression will not easily be pardoned by some; And yet I shall  
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Adventure to follow it with another : for it were manifest Injustice to the *Gallican* Churches, to pass by that Christian Prudence and Moderation, which they steadily used during all their Heats and Controversies, between the *Romanists* on the one part, and the *Britons, Scots and Irish* on the other ; For, as if *Irenaeus* had left a double Portion of his Spirit among them, they did not think themselves bound to break Communion with any for these Matters, but did all they could to promote the Common Cause ; Those of the *Roman* Way were frequently Ordained by them, and indeed without their Help and Assistance at every Turn, they seem to have been able to do little or nothing in the Conversion of the *Saxons*, and yet at the same time they shew the same kindness both to the *Britons* and *Irish*, Friendly receiving their Bishops, Communicating with them, and if Occasion required readily Ordaining for them. But between the *Gallican* and *British* churches, there seems to have been a more inward kindness, and more close Communion then ordinary ; And they seem to have depended more upon the mutual Succours of each other, then any other Churches. Hence we find the *Briton* Assisting in the *Gallican* Councils ; And when the *Pelagian* Heresie grew too strong for them in *Britain*, they presently have Recourse to the *Gallican* Churches, and receive Succours thence, *A Gallicanis Antistitibus auxilium Belli spiritualis inquirant*, saith *Beda*, (Ecc. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 17.) And whereas Pope *Gregory*, in his Letter to Queen *Brunechild*, seems covertly to upbraid both *French* and *Britons* for not preaching the Gospel to the *Saxons*, *Who* (he saith) *were desirous to receive it* ; (so that *Augustine* had no such hard Work of it,) I know not what better Reason can be given for the Slackness of the *French* in this Case, (who were then a Flourishing Church, and well stored with Men of Learning, Piety and Zeal) then their Resentment of that barbarous Usage, which their Old Friends the *Britons* had received from the *Saxons*. I will not Heap up more Instances in this matter ; but that which will make it no impertinent Digression is this, That the *Britons* were so inveterate against all Pretences of *Roman* Authority, that they would not so much as communicate with them ; and yet at the same time the *Gallican* Churches held Communion with the *Britons* as Orthodox ; Now had the *Roman* Patriarchate then either by Council or Custom extended over these Isles, the *Gallican* Bishops for this constant Practice would have been Condemned as Schismatics, or at least as *Schismaticis fautores & adherentes*. But no such matter was ever Attempted, and however *Monkish* Stories have since involved things in darkness, yet it seems the Matter was then too plain to be denied ; Nor was the Bishop of *Rome* then got to that Height, as to deal with all Churches as he Listeth ; so that here we have the Testimony of a Neighbor Church, (who were then well Acquainted with the *British* Affairs, and none of the meanest Churches in the Christian World)



World) for the Liberties of the *British Churches* for betwixt Six and Seven Hundred Yeares.

XVII. But now to return where I left off. The Contest with *Wilfrid* seems to have produced a Separation, and both Parties continued Resolutely in their own way, even unto *Beda's* days, who Flourished in the Eighth Century. 'Tis true, they got some little Ground on the *Irish* and *Scots*, but that very slowly, and not without great difficulty, as may appear from *Beda's* Narrative of the Travel and pains of *Adamnanus*, (*Ecc. Hist. lib. cap. 16.*) But as for the *Britons*, though oppressed on all Hands with their Enemies, they not only Asserted, but Enjoyed their Ecclesiastical Liberties, and by *Beda's* own Confession even in his time, would no more Communicate with the *Saxons* then with *Pagans*. This Prescription is sufficient to secure the Right of their Liberties from the Popes pretence as *Patriarch*, as I shall presently make appear; But yet they lived in possession of these Liberties several Generations after, as may Appear from that known Testimony of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *Episcopi Walliæ à Menevensi Antistite sunt Consecrati, & ipse similiter ab aliis tanquam Suffraganeis est Consecutus, nullâ penitus alii Ecclesiæ factâ Professione vel Subjectione*, i. e. The Bishops of *Wales* are Consecrated by the Bishop of *Menevia*, (*at St. David's*, the prime See) and he likewise is Constituted by the other Bishops his Suffragans, without any manner of Account Given, or Subjection made to any other Church. And here by the way take Notice, That the *Britons* kept close to the true and most early Antiquity, in paying a just deference to him, who was *Episcopus primæ Sedis*, without using the Names of Metropolitane or Arch-bishop, which were termes of later date.

XVIII. I was never an Admirer of Personal Quarrels, and therefore was never fond of being engaged against particular Persons; But that Arch-Traytor to his Countrey *F. Parsons* hath made such a Blunder and Bustle in this Matter, that it may seem needful to return a particular Answer to some things alledged by him; If scurrilous Language and Impudence be necessary Properties in an accurate Lyar, scarce any Man was ever better Accomplished: Only one Qualification he wanted, without which all the Learned have thought a Man can never dextrously Manage that Trade; for either he had a very frail Memory, or else thought all other Men to be very short-sighted, and would swallow down all his Assertions without any Examination. If a Conjecture of any Protestant fall in his Way, whether of any moment or not, he seazeth it with all his might and cunning, and yet the greatest part of his Proofs are merely Conjectural, and often very Groundless. He is highly Offended with *Sir Francis Hastings*, for saying, *That the first Teachers of Christian Faith in Britain, were rather Grecians, and of the East Church in Asia, than of the West Roman Church.* And for this he peremptorily says, *That there is no Author at all*, (3 *Conver. cap. 1. sec. 4.*) I will not insist

on it, that they were *Grecians*, they might be of the *Jewish Nation*; But with *F. Parsons* good leave, even the *Romans* themselves owe their Conversion to the Easterlings, either *Jews* or *Grecians*, for they were before them in Christianity; And considering the early Conversion of the *Britons*, it could come from none other, unless Travelling thorough the Western Parts of the World, made them of the Western Church and no other. And if he were living, I would desire him to tell me, what Countrey men *Simon Zelotes* and *Joseph of Arimathea* were, whom he himself makes great Instruments of our Conversion. Besides, the Feast of *Easter* was then Celebrated uncertainly, and the Controversie not risen, and not determined till long after: And it is an Argument that we were not under the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, because these Isles did not submit to their Determination. But afterwards, (cap. 3. sect. 7.) forgetting himself he Acknowledgeth, That *Coleman* Alledged a Tradition from *St. John* and *Anatolius*; So that his Saying will be true, when *St. John* and *Anatolius* can be proved to be of the particular Church of *Rome*, and Bishop *Coleman* and *Beda* to be no Authors.

XIX He proceeds, telling us, *That it is a Notorious Lie of John Fox, in saying, That St. Beda Affirmeth this Custom of Keeping Easter with the Jews to have been here in Britain in his time, as though all Britain had used it; whereas in divers Places he doth expressly Attribute the same to the Scots, that dwelled in the Island of Ireland principally, as also to some of them that dwelt in Britain, and to some Britains themselves; But all the English Church, (saith he) was free from it.* Indeed it is a Mistake both in *Parsons* and *Fox*, if they thought any of them kept it with the *Jews* in the strict sense; For in that famous *Northumbrian* Disputation, their Enemy *Wilfrid* doth not deny their Keeping it on the Lords Day, but accuseth them with a false Account from the Fourteenth to the Twentieth of the Moon; But if there were any other some, who kept it the *Roman* way, I would know who they were, what were any of their Names, and in what parts of these Islands they dwelt? Here all Instances utterly failed the Jesuite, and therefore he subtilely passeth it by, never offering at any proof. But I need not insist on this, because I have already proved, that all the Christians of these Isles till *Augustines* time kept *Easter* the same way, and different from the *Romans*. *Beda* himself tells us, *That Wilfrid was Confident, that his Doctrine was Omnibus Scottorum Traditionibus jure Preferendam.* So that as Confident as he was, yet they were all against him by his own Confession, without any of *F. Parsons* Exceptions. And in the Beginning of the Dispute *Coleman's* Assertion is this, *Pascha hoc, quod agere soleo, à Majoribus meis accepi, qui me huc Episcopum miserunt, quod omnes Patres nostri viri D. o dilecti eodem modo Celebrasse, noscuntur.* (*Bed. Ecc. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 25.*) As for his *English Church* being free (i.e. from this Error) nothing could be said more impertinent and ridiculous; For if he mean before *Augustines*'s time,

time, his *English Church* were then all Pagans; If he speak of what was in or after *Augustine's* time, it is nothing to the purpose; for no Body denies but that *Augustine* brought in the *Roman way*; the Dispute is concerning what was the Practice here before; And now *F. Parsons* may take his Lye again, as being the true Father of it.

XX. Upon this false Foundation he frames this Trifling Argument, which he seems to make great Account of: *That the Britons can no more be said to be of Eastern Conversion, then a Man could say the first Preachers to them were Pelagians, because in Beda's time some Reliques of the Pelagian Heresie might be found amongst them.* To which I Answer, That the Case is quite otherwise; And if in *Beda's*, or any others time, the *Britons* had been found as unanimously Agreeing in the *Pelagian Heresie* as they were in the *Paschal Solemnity*, and no Footsteps appearing that it had been otherwise, any Man would Conclude, That their first Preachers had been *Pelagians*, or Men infected with the same Heresie, if they were not known by the same Name. And thus he ought to have laid his Argument to make the Parallel run true to the Reality of the Cases: But he was more Crafty then so, for that had been to Confute himself. Next, he triumphs over *Fox*, for saying, That *Beda* affirms this Custom concerning *Easter*, to have been in *Britain* almost 1000 yeares after Christ; *Whereas* (saith he) *Beda* was a much older Author, and died in the Year 735. Well, but what if all this should be done by Miracle? (without one I know not how it could) and *Beda* should appear almost 300 yeares after his Death to some drowsie Monk, and tell him this Tale? *F. Parsons*, if it had made for him would have Hugg'd such a Revelation: But after all, it is only a mistake, if not, a wilful One; though *Fox's* heedless way of Expression gave too much Occasion for it; for his meaning is this, That *Beda* affirmeth *Easter* to be so kept by the *Britons* in his time, and that the same Custom continued after his time amongst them so long, as to be Practised almost 1000 yeares after Christ's time; And all this is very true, as shall appear Anon.

XXI. To Revenge this Wrong (as he thinks) done to *Beda*, he falls foul upon the *Magdeburgenses*, for making *Jeoffery* of *Monmouth* to live about 700 yeares after Christ. *Jeoffery's* Testimony indeed Gauled him sorely, and therefore it was to be shuffled off by any means; Whether he hath done the *Magdeburgenses* Right in that thing, I neither know nor care. For their Errour as to the time of *Jeoffery's* Life doth nothing invalidate his Testimony. But if it were good before their mistake, it is so still, so that this is only Cavilling. Besides, though *Jeoffery* of *Monmouth* lived in the time of King *Stephen*, which is above 500 yeares since, and so is no Yesterdays Author; yet the Work it self is much older; For he was not the Author but Translator of that History, which was written Originally in the *British* Language, and Accounted an Old Book before he was born, as *Lambard* and others have proved.

proved, and therefore the Testimony is more Considerable, and deserves a better Answer after all the *Magdeburgenses* Account, may Refer to the Matter of the Testimony, and Time when the thing was Transacted, not to *Jeoffery's* Life; and then it will be too Modest and too favourable; To less purpose is his time spent in proving *Jeoffery* to be no Cardinal. I should be prone to believe him, if I had no other Reason, but his Relating a Truth so prejudicial to the Interest of the Court of *Rome*; But if he was not a Cardinal, he might be as honest a Man; 'Tis certain he was a Bishop, and as such was a much better Man; especially if the Pope would suffer them to be what Christ and his Apostles made them, and not appropriate all that Authority to the *Roman* See, to a Share of which every Bishop hath as good Right and Title as himself.

XXII. At length, after a deal of Shufflings, Lying and Rayling, he comes to the Matter of *Jeoffery's* Testimony; And that he Answers easily, and so may any Man, who takes no Care to speak Truth, but only what may serve his Turn; He says, *There is not a Word in it of not Acknowledging the Pope's Supremacy.* I know not how there should, for such a Supremacy as is now Claimed, was not then Lick'd into form. He might have Remembred, that the Transactions there mentioned, relate to the time of *Gregory* the Great, then whom no Man wrote more fiercely against the Supremacy; Or, which is in effect the same thing, the setting up an Universal Bishop; Or if he had be thought himself of what he elsewhere tells us, That the *Britons* would not Communicate with *Augustine's* Converts, then Dogs; he might have made it a strong Argument for their professing Obedience, and Subjection to the See of *Rome*. In fine, he will have their Answer Amount to no more but this, *That only they would not Acknowledge Augustine's Superiority over them, seeing he was sent only to the English; And that the Authority of their own Arch bishop was not taken away by his coming, for any thing they knew, but remained as before* (3 Con-  
ver. cap. 2. sect. 14.) What pity is it, that *Augustine* did not better inform them? it seems they would have been a very obedient People, had they known the Pope's Orders, and been told the Truth of the Matter. But it is an unlucky thing, that when a Man with Working his Wits has devised an Answer that would do the Business, he should not have the Privilege to make it pass for Truth, unless it be so in it self. Now all this is spoken by a Figure called *Fiction*, which the rude Vulgar call *Lying*. For the *Britons* no more regarded the Pope then they did *Augustine*. I have already set down the Answer of *Dionisius* Abbot of *Bangor*, to which *Jeoffery's* words Relate; and he who will bear the pains to read it will see, That it is as expressly and directly Levelled against the Pope's Authority or Supremacy, (if it must be so called) as could be well famed. They impugne *Augustine's* Authority by denying the Pope, and own no Superiour but the  
Bishop

Bishop of *Caerleon*, who was to oversee under God over them, or (according to the *Brittish*) had the only Eye over them under God. And this they Confirm by their unanimous Practice, despising all Orders from *Rome*, and obstinately refusing all Communion with *Augustine* and his Successors. Yet this and more *F. Parsons* Chymistry can melt into Obedience, and an Acknowledgement of the Pope's Supremacy. At this Rate who can doubt of Miracles in the Church of *Rome*?

XXIII. In the next place he is highly Offended with the *Magdeburgenses*, for speaking so irreverently of Pope *Innocent* the First, and his Testimony, *That all the West Churches were Founded by St. Peter, on his Disciples and Successors*. And it is no wonder if Pope *Innocent* spoke out for himself, and it may go a great way, where they have not to do with such Hereticks as expect Proofs. If this be true, why has *F. Parsons* discovered some such First Founders of the *Brittish* Churches, as were none of *Peters* Disciples or Successors. His Forgetfulness sometimes doth his Holy Father as much injury, as the *Magdeburgians* malice; neither doth it carry any force of Truth; because by their own Confession there was a time, when *Easter* was not so exactly observed, as now it is, whether there was a Stated Church at *Rome* then or not, and that the Conversion of the *Britons* was at that time, I see not any better Account can be Given. To Help out this, he tells us of Two more Popes, *Honorius* and *John* the fourth, who wrote to the *Irish* to reduce them from this Error; But *Honorius* will do him small service, because in that Account which *Beda* gives of his Letter, (*Ecc. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 19.*) it is clearly implied, that the whole Nation was involved in it, and so we have a Pope on our Side to set against him that follows. His Pope *John* was scarce Pope then, at best he was but Elect; And the Letter seems to come, (as I may say) from the Chapter in the Vacancy of the See; and of those many who join in Writing it. *Hilarius* the Arch-Presbyter, not *John*, is first mentioned; but for once let *John* have the Credit of it, and he then will tell us, *That this Heresie* (i.e. concerning *Easter*) *was but lately sprung up amongst them, and only some few infected with it*. But now how *John* and *Honorius* will Agree about this, I cannot tell; For once I will be so kind to *F. Parsons*, as to try if I can make them Friends. The *Brittish* and *Irish* Usage was in this Western part of the World a great Singularity in those days; Now if *John* had a mind to draw them off from it, who can blame him from speaking favourably, and representing the Matter as inoffensively as could be: The Way to Win Men is not to provoke them; and we sometimes seem not to believe, that a Man is so bad as we know he is, because we would not harden him with shame, but have a desire to make him better. But when Men purposely and designedly speak sparingly, their Words are not to be brought as an Evidence of the whole Matter. But the Truth is, they had little knowledge of our State,



state, but by uncertain Relations; *Gregory the Great* himself, when he saw the *English* Children Sold in the Market, knew not whether their Nation was Christian or Pagan. *Augustine* even for some time after his Coming hither, knew not the Usage of the *Britons*, yea, even *Laurentius* his Successor had much such an opinion of the *Irish* as *F. Parsons*, till Time and Experience undeceived him; And therefore such Forreigners as were far more ignorant of our Affairs, we may justly except against as incompetent Witnesses, especially they being the very Men who taught these Men their Errour, which their Eyes and Eares after Convinced them of

XXIV. But now comes the Knocking Argument to this Effect; That neither *Damianus*, and others sent by *Eleutherius*, nor *St. German* and his Fellows, who came twice hither to oppose the *Pelagian*, make any mention of this Usage, which they would have done and Amended it too, had they found it here, *Because* (saith he) both *Pope Pius* and *Pope Victor* had before Condemned it for Heretical. I could thank the Jesuite for this Argument, for it mortally Wounds his own Cause. I will not again dispute the Mission of *Damianus* or *Dervianus*, (or what other Names the Jesuite will give Him,) nor will I insist on it, that *Germanus* and *Lupus* were sent by the *French* at the Request of the *Britons*, and not by the Pope; But if that Usage was universally practised by the *Brittish* and *Irish*, and no good Instance appear, that it was ever otherwise, as I have already proved, and that it continued for a long time after; then it will unavoidably follow, that the *Britons* were not under the *Roman* Jurisdiction, nor thought themselves bound to stand to the Popes Determination: Yea further, that these very Men, whom he saith the Pope sent were of the same Mind, or else dealt very unfaithfully in making us stir about it. Nay, being the *French* Churches did Communicate both with *Brittish* and *Irish* at that time, when they not only Maintained this Usage in opposition to *Rome*, but refused Communion with their Bishops; It is an Argument, that they neither thought the Bishop of *Rome*'s Decrees did bind the *Britons*, nor that the thing was so Heretical in it self; For certainly they would never have so freely and Friendly Maintained Communion with them, had they stood in open opposition, and professed disobedience to their proper Patriarch. By this a Judgement may be made of the Rest of *F. Parsons* Arguments; I shall follow him no further. It is not the Observation of *Enslaver* which we dispute with *Rome*, but we urge the Practice of the *Britons* and *Irish*, to prove the Liberty of these Islands.

XXV. Now to avoid Tedioufness in this particular, having left the Ancient *Britons* in possession, we must suppose they held it, till it can be proved, they were ejected. Now the first (so far as I can yet find) who Attempted this to any purpose, was *Henry Beauclerk*; and he being a Wise as well as a potent Prince, thought the Subjecting the *Welsh* Bishops to the Metropolitan

See of *Canterbury* might be a means to keep the *Welsh* in order, and so far as concerned his own Kingdom, he herein dealt not only like a Politick Prince, but even the Laws of the Church did countenance him; But then by the same Act he submitted all the *Welsh* Bishops to the See of *Rome*, as things then stood, and so Completed the Popes Conquest of these Isles; which thing the iniquity of those times would either not afford him Eyes to see, or not power to prevent; Accordingly he prefers *Bernardus*, a *Norman*, and his Chaplain, to the Bishoprick of *St. Davids*; But Liberty and Power are both sweet things, and *Bernardus* being got in possession grows resty, and Asserts his Rights, and the Priviledges of his See; And here the Pope first got the Fingering of the Cause, so as to make his true Advantage of it: 'Tis true, *Bernardus* appeared Confident, and swagger'd bravely; but in vain did he think to carry a Cause in the Court of *Rome* against the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s Purse, and the Pope's Interest, when at the same time, and in the same thing he also Cross'd his own Kings design. There is no doubt but that his Holiness swallowed this long-look'd for Morfel with a great deal of pleasure and greediness; And yet the Sentence did not fully and quietly take place till a long time after, which possibly is the Reason that our Authors so differ in Assigning the time of this Submission, for the Welshmen could not yet forget what they once were, and upon all Occasions struggled hard to retain their Government amongst themselves; so that as Affairs went with the *English* this matter either got or lost Ground. If the *English* Power was at leisure to wait on the *Welsh* Men and awe them, then the *Welsh* Bishops were the Popes and his Grace of *Canterbury*'s Grumbling Servants; But if the *English* Affairs were so involved that their Countrey had a little Rest, the one was as ready to Cast off the Ecclesiastical, as the other the Civil Yoke. And thus Matters seem to have stood Wavering till *Henry* the third, or *Edward* the first times; But about the thirty second year of *Henry* the third, (*Matt. Paris Hist. Maj. Hen. 3. page 715*) the *English* Forces so Harassed *Wales*, that the Ground lay Untilled, Cattel neglected, the Famine Ragged amongst them; The Bishop of *St. David* diel, overcome with Grief for the miseries of his Countrey, and the Bishops of *St. Asaph* and *Bangor* were reduced to that miserable Condition, as to Beg their Bread in a Countrey wasted with Fire and Sword. But when Matters were somewhat Composed, *St. Davids* the Metropolitcal See of *Wales* was found to be so Impoverished, that it was thought a despicable Preferment for an Arch-Deacon of *Lincoln*, though *Thomas Wallensis* in Commiseration of his Countrey did accept it; And here the *Brittish* Ecclesiastical Liberty seems to have drawn its last Breath, or to have given only some few Gasps after; yet if we place its Fall in *Henry* the First his time, it will have lasted above 1000 years, but if in *Henry* the third's time, it will be above 1200. But henceforward this

till the Reformation, I think it must be Acknowledged, that the Pope Rode in full Triumph over all parts of these Isles; And though in some Matters he Met with smart Opposition, yet he Exercised an Authority nothing less then Patriarchal. It remains now therefore to be enquired, whether this his Intrusion or Possession did create him any Right, or any such Right, but that the Churches in these Isles, as Matters then stood, might Reform themselves, and lawfully Re-assume their former Liberties?

XXVI. Were it not that the *Romanists* make a Flourish with every little Argument, that seems to favour their Cause, as if there were some great thing in it; I should not think it worth my while to mention the Plea, from the Conversion of the Saxons by *Augustine*. For first, if it were good, that would give them but little Ground, for his Preaching seems not to have taken any Effect beyond *Kent*, the *East-Saxons*, and perhaps some small Matter in the *East-Angles*; As for the Kingdoms of the *Northumbrians* and *Mercians*, which were of greatest Extent, they were apparently of *Scotch* or *Irish* Conversion; Nor will this Claim in the least touch the *Britons*, *Irish*, *Scots* or *Picts*. But Secondly, if there be any thing in this, then such Zealous Christians as have gone out from any of these Isles, and Converted Pagans, would obtain a Jurisdiction for the Metropolitans of such Places from whence they went, in those Countreys; But if any of our Bishops should on that score Challenge a Jurisdiction in *Germany*, or other places, I am apt to think, that they would be well Laught at for their pains, and be esteemed very idle impertinent persons, if not worse used. We are therefore ready Gratefully to Acknowledge all those good Offices, which any of the Popes Predecessors have heretofore done for us, or he at any time shall do for us; But if for Others merits, or his own good Turns, he conclude he has gained us to be his Slaves; I think he Sells Kindness the dearest of any Man living, and we shall beg his Pardon, that we are not in Haste to agree to so hard a Bargain.

XXVII. As for these Isles, they having been truly and rightfully possessed of such Ecclesiastical Liberties, they cannot be lawfully deprived of them by any fraud or force. If another Man take away my Goods, and keep them never so long, yet if I can prove them to have been my Goods, and that they were fraudulently and forcibly taken and detained from Me, no Possession or Prescription can Create a Right to him, who by unlawful means is possessed of that which Apparently belongs to another; *de facto* indeed it may be otherwise, but *de jure* it never ought or can; And therefore it was a Sanction of the Twelve Tables, *Adversus Furem aeterna Lex esto*. But the Canons of the primitive Church seem more carefully to have secured the Rights of particular Churches, then the Secular Laws have done the possessions of particular Men. The Bishops of those overgrown Cities, *Rome*, *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, began very early to make Use of their Reputation and Interest,

to Augment their Power and Jurisdiction; But as none other had the like Advantages, so none Traded with such Success as the Bishop of Rome; These were the Occasion of the 6th. Canon, of that truly Venerable, and so much Celebrated Council of *Nice*, where in Relation to the Right of *Metropolitans*, it is thus determined, τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔσθ' ἀκριβέστατα. And though the latter part of the Canon seems to Confirm to them something extraordinary, i. e. all that Custom could then fairly and clearly entitle them to, yet notwithstanding this Complement to Men then great and pious, it seems to have been made on set purpose, that it might be a Barr to their future Usurpations.

XXVIII. This will more plainly Appear, if we Consider the Eighth Canon of the General Council at *Ephesus*, which was Compos'd with a Design both to Explain and Strengthen the *Nicene* Canon; For overmuch Greatness is hardly to be Confined within Rules; And their Topping Bishops had been at Work again. The Bishop of *Antioch* had made fair Attempts to Seize the Isle of *Cyprus*, and the Bishop of *Rome* not only took his part, but by his Letters Condemned the *Cyprian* Bishops, as not wise in the Faith for opposing, and plainly gave the Cause on his Side, which had been enough in all Conscience, if he had been near so infallible or powerful then, as he is now; But when the Matter came before the Council, the Fathers without any Regard to the Authority of the *Roman* See, are quite of another Mind. This Act of the Bishop of *Antioch*, (which was the Ordaining Bishops in *Cyprus*) they stile, πρῶτον τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν θεμάτων ἢ τῶν κατόντων ἐπὶ ἀρίστων πατέρων κεινομένων. An Innovation contrary to the Lawes of the Church, and the Canons of the Holy Fathers. And though the Complaint was particular as to the Province of *Cyprus*, yet they make it a Common Cause, saying that it was a Matter τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἀπὸ πάντων, which concerned the Liberties of all Churches. They Compare it to a Common Disease, which needs a stronger Medicine or Cure; And then having Restored the *Cyprians* to their Rights, lest they should seem negligent of other Churches, and leave them open to Usurpers, they make their Decree General against all other Persons, who should invade the Rights of any other Church whatsoever, and that twice in the same Canon; so jealous and tender were they in this point. First, τὸ ὅτι αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ ἐπὶ ἀπαντίχῃ ἐπιερχόμενῃ ἀσυνεταχθῆναι ὄντι, &c. That the same thing should be Observed in all other Diocesses and Provinces whatsoever, that none of the most Holy Bishops should invade any other Province, which of old time and from the beginning had not been under the Government of him or his Predecessors; But lest this should not be enough, they Back it again with another Sanction, ἔδοξε πάλιν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ συνόδῳ συζητήσαι ἐκαστὴν ἐπιερχομένην, &c. It hath seem'd good to the Holy and Universal Synod, that

the Rights of every Province, which Confirmed by old Customs have been Held formerly, even from the Beginning, shall be preserved pure and inviolable, and that every Metropolitan have free Liberty to take a Copy of their Transactions for his own Security. And here we have the *Nicene* Canon not only Confirmed, but we are informed what are those *ἀρχαία ἔθη*, those Ancient Customs, which they would have take place. They were such, which were not only *ἀρχαία* but *ἐκκλησιαστικά*, not only of some time backward, but from the Beginning. And if these be they which must carry the Cause, I think the Churches of these Isles are or ought to be as safe, as ever were the *Cyprian*. For these had not then so much as been Attempted, when the other were but a small Matter from being quite Ravished, and had undoubtedly been swallowed up, had a General Council been kept off but some few yeares longer. But that they might more effectually prevent the Mischiefs which Attend such Encroachments, and the Detriment and Dishonour done to Religion by them, the Holy Fathers give no less then three Reasons for this their Constitution. First, *ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις αἱ ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ ἐξουσίαι ἀποστερηθῶσι*. That the Canons of the Fathers may not be transgressed, it seems the Laws of the Church had been all along against it. But what of that? What are Canons to the Pope, who is subject to none. 'Tis pity he was not excepted: But the true Reason is, because the Fathers thought he ought not. The *Plenitudo Potestatis*, now so much boasted of, was not then thought of: Or if it was, durst not appear abroad, lest it should have been Knock'd off th' Head for a Monster. Popes themselves in those days pleaded the Canons, and were iudged by them: And this Canon hath a peculiar evil Aspect upon him; for it is directly contrary to his declared Opinion and Determination in behalf of the Bishop of *Antioch*. So that if the Popes now do not regard the Canons, it seems heretofore they as little regarded him. The second Reason of the Canon is expressed thus, *Μὴδὲ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἀποζητῆσαι ἐξουσίαν ἢ ἀρχὴν ἀνθρώπων*. That the Pride and Vanity of Secular Power may not enter the Church, under a pretence of Discharging the Ministerial Function, which seems directly to point to that Saying of our Saviour to his Disciples, (*Math. 20. 25.* I Cite the Original, because there is something peculiar in the words, which our *Englisch* Translation could not easily reach,) *ὁ ἐξ ἐστὶν ὡς ὁ ἐξουσίαν ἔχων*. Surely if these Fathers had not a Grudge at the Bishop of *Rome*, they had a foresight of his Progress. For put together what the Bishop of *Rome* now Acts, and what, he Claims; And if that *Tyrannus Seculi*, which the Antients all along so feared and bitterly inveighed against, be not brought into the Church by him; I will be bold to say, that all their Feares were Follies, and that it neither is nor ever can be brought in whilst the World stands. The third Reason

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ought to Affect any Man, who calls Himself a Christian. It is this, *Μηδε  
αδελφον τῶν ἐλευθεριῶν χρί μακρὸν ἀπολείποντες, ἢν ἡμεῖν ἐδωρήσατο τῷ ἰσχυρῶς ἀγαπῶ  
ντι· ὅτι ἡμεῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ παντῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθερωτῆς.* Left by degrees we  
lose that Liberty, which our Lord Jesus Christ the Redeemer of all Men  
hath purchased for us, (or bestowed on us) with his Blood. If so, our  
Churches, in stead of being blamed, ought to be highly Commended for  
defending this Liberty: And as he, who shall invade it, ought at present  
to be discountenanced by all others, so it is to be feared, that he will have  
a sad Account to make up in the day of the Lord Jesus, though he pretend  
to be his Vicar. Now if Reason could prevail, here is sufficient; But be-  
cause oftentimes Men will not be Ruled by Reason, therefore the Fathers  
yet take a farther Care to Compel them by Law, and determine in the  
same Canon, *Τὰ δὲ ὅτι πρὸς κατὰ μέρος, &c.* If any Man do Seize anothers  
Province, and Subject it to Him, *πάντα ἀποδίδειν*, That He shall Restore it;  
And that they might take away all Pretences, they Conclude, *Ἐὰν τις μαρ-  
τύρον τιπτον. πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν τι πειράσῃται, ἀκούον τῶν ὅτων.* That if any Man  
should produce a Constitution contrary to what is now determined, it shall  
be void, or of no Authority. Now if there be any Reverence for, or  
force in a Canon, so carefully penn'd, by so Venerable a Council, then it  
is plain, That we have withdrawn no Obedience which the Pope could  
lawfully Claim, nor Cast off any Authority that he was possid'd of in  
Right; For being there were then Churches in those Ilies, settled under  
their Bishops, according to the primitive Forme and Usage, and Owed no  
Subjection to the Bishop of Rome, either as *Metropolitan* or *Patriarch*, as hath  
been proved; then whatever Pretences he can now make for any Authority  
over us, are by the Council determined to be void; And what Usurpations  
soever he hath made, are adjudged to be Restored; So that if they have  
no better Arguments then the Bishop of Rome's Authority as Patriarch, that  
will do them no service here; but it will rather Appear, That we have pro-  
ceeded very Canonically in our Reformation

XXIX. Thus much will clearly Appear, That as the Bishops of those po-  
pulous and powerful Cities, *Rome, Antioch and Alexandria*, were ever and A-  
non making Inroads upon other Mens Jurisdiction; So the Three First Ge-  
neral Councils were very careful to Fence the Liberties of the Church a-  
gainst their and all others Encroachments. For as for the Second General  
Council, which I have Omitted, any Man may be abundantly satisfied, who  
will take the pains to Read *The Account of the Government of the Christian  
Church* written by the Learned Dr. Parker, late Bishop of Oxford; Yet either  
Tyred with endless struggling, or over-borne with power, or out-witted by  
Cunning, or rather wrought on by all these means, the Fourth General  
Council did plainly Amplifie their Power. For after the Translation of the

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Seat of the Empire to *Constantinople*, the Bishop of that place by the favour of the Emperour, by the Power of the City, by the Assistance of Dependants, and by a lucky Opportunity offered from the New Division of the Empire, suddenly starts up from a mean Suffragan to be the Second, and perhaps most powerful Bishop of the Empire. And now a Council Meeting at *Chalcedon*, just under his Nose, and Consisting mostly of Eastern Bishops, and many of them his Dependants, and where the Emperour some time Appeared in Person, and his Ministers all along bore a great sway. This he thought was the time, if ever, to get that done, which no Council before would hearken to; And to obtain a Confirmation of that exorbitant Jurisdiction, which that Ravenous See had seized in few yeares space. But in doing this, he is constrained to do Others Business, that he might do his own. And here first we find one set over the Head of the Metropolitan, and an Appeal from Him Ratified by Canon; And thus the Bishops of those great Cities Mounted into Exarchs, afterwards called Patriarchs, and the Bishop of *Constantinople* got the best Share. There was doubtless no mean Artifice used in the Managery of this Matter; for it seems to be rather Slurr'd upon the Council, then Acted by them: And the Foxes themselves, the Bishop of *Rome's* Legats were here caught, and all they could do was afterwards to Protest against Proceedings in this Matter. But when *Leo* heard of it at *Rome*, he fell a Roaring at no Rate, not that he had too little, but that the Bishop of *Constantinople* had too much; He was in a bodily fear of such a dangerous Competitour, who on a sudden had from almost Nothing Risen to such Greatness, that he was able to Cope with Him; And by the Grandeur of his City, his Interest in the Clergy, and favour of the Emperour, might in a short time be able to over-top Him. It is not unlikely, that *Leo* might think, that he could have scrambled well enough for Himself without the Help of any such Canon, and might possibly look on it as a Confinement. But whatever he thought, his Plea is clear contrary, and that he might depress the Rising *Constantinopolitan*, he is Tooth and Nail for the *Nicene* Canons, and the power of *Metropolitans*, which by the Way is an Argument, that it was not then thought, that the *Nicene* Canons Erected Patriarchates, as some since Maintain. The Issue of this Quarrel I am not concerned to pursue; But granting the Bishop of *Rome* to be here made Patriarch, you see he doth not care to accept it: But suppose him to be *Nolens Volens* invested with it, yet the Churches in these Isles were out of the Reach of it, and lived long after in their former state and freedom, and therefore may still Challenge the Benefit of the *Ephesine* Canon against Usurpations,

XXX. But now let us for once suppose, what can never be proved, viz. That the Patriarchate of the Bishop of *Rome* was Legally and Canonically extended

extended over these Isles; yet what Feats will this do for him? even under Patriarchates, (for they did not obtain in all places of the Empire) the power of Metropolitans was still Reserved; they still Ordained the Bishops of their Provinces; they did Convene and hold Provincial Synods, and determined Matters as formerly; Only whereas the Metropolitan was before Ordained in his Province by his Suffragans, now he was to be Ordained by the Patriarch, or at least with his Consent, and there lay an Appeal from him and his Synod. In short, the Power of a Patriarch Consisted in certain known Instances, but chiefly in Conjunction with the Bishops of his Diocese or Exarchate. Now what a pitiful shrivel'd thing would the Pope think this, if it were offered him? How would he fret and storm, if we should thus Admit Him, and Tye his Hands behind Him? And yet as Patriarch this is all he can Claim; But to Claim that and ten times more, where he hath not so much as a Patriarchal Right, is such a Piece of Impudence as none would be guilty of, but those who can blush at nothing. And therefore it will be best not to trust him, but hold our own as long as we can.

XXXI. Upon the same Supposition we may still proceed further, and Enquire, whether a Patriarchal Power do Entitle a Man to all he can Grasp, or lay his Hands on? Are we so fast bound, that there is no getting quit of Him, though he Command such Matters as dishonour God, disturb the Church, mislead Christians out of the true Way, and does Actually Tyrannize over Mens Souls, Bodies and Estates? Patriarchal Authority was first Instituted for the good of the Church, that Order might be preserved, Purity of Religion secured, all Persons contained in and held to their Duties, and Heresies and Schisms prevented. But now, if this Power be made use of against all these Ends, must the good of the Church give way to it; or it to the good of the Church? That it has been and is abused by the Bishop of *Rome*, contrary to all these Ends, might be fully proved by an Induction of Particulars, but that would lead Me into too large a Field; And I shall therefore Omit here, because it will be done hereafter, when I shall insist on those particular Heads, which prove the *Romanists* guilty of the Schism. Besides, a Patriarch is only a Bishop with an extended Jurisdiction; The Bishop is the highest Order in Gods Church, the Patriarchate is only an Ecclesiastical Gift or Institution, whereby the Bishop of a certain place is Entrusted with the oversight of more Churches for the Enlarging Communion, and securing Religion; Now if any Bishop go against the Canons, or teach false doctrine, or encourage lewd Practices, and preach up ill Manners, his Flock might desert Him, and joyn in Communion with such as were Orthodox: If a Metropolitan took such Courses, the Bishops of his Province might cast Him off, and Govern their Churches by themselves independently of Him. And if a Patriarch, who hath somewhat a greater trust, shall at  
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the same Rate abuse it, he ought the more speedily to be Renounced, to Avoid the greater Mischief and Detriment, which will otherwise befall the Church of God. Ecclesiastical Constitutions must give way to Divine, and when instead of serving them, they overthrow or frustrate them, they are *ipso facto* void and null. Let us suppose, that a Person were Recommended to the Pope to be Consecrated or Instituted Archbishop of *Canterbury*, besides the tedious Waiting and large Feeing that must be in the Case, his Holiness will have for First-Fruits, 10000 Florens, and for the Pall 5000, (for these were the old Rates,) And besides all this, to secure the New Archbishop to be at his devotion at all times for the future, will force Him to take an Oath, not of Canonical Obedience, but of Fealty, (for that they have brought it to.) Now perhaps the King may not be willing, that such great Sums of Money should from time to time be dreyned out of the Nation; And as much more Averse, that his Subjects should Swear Allegiance to another Prince, as thinking it prejudicial to his absolute Sovereignty, and inconsistent with the safety and peace of his Kingdoms. What shall be the Issue of this? Either the Person Recommended and King too must yield, or we must have no Metropolitan, and the King shall be Excommunicated. And if he continue stubborn and obstinate in the Right, perhaps the whole Kingdom shall be put under an Interdict; And so if your Purfes be not at the Popes service, and your Persons his Slaves, you shall not be suffered so much as to Worship God. Now is not this a fine Patriarch? And would it not be a great Sin to cast Him off, and serve God whether he will or no? This Power the Pope has used, this Power he still pretends to, and he that Claims an Authority against God and his Worship, who was only Entrusted for it, hath Forfeited his Trust, and fallen from the Honour of it.

XXXII. I shall now only Advance one step higher, and then leave this mighty Patriarch, till we Meet him again in another disguise. Let us still suppose the *Roman* Patriarchate to have extended over these Isles; Nay more, be it supposed that the Pope is his Holiness indeed, and that he could be accused of no ill Management; yet I doubt not but his Patriarchate hath of it self in course failed, ceased and become void, at least so far as Relates to their Churches; And that too, by those very Laws and Canons of the Ancient Church, which may seem to have Erected or Countenanced it. The Motives, Reasons and Ends of a Law ought to be well Considered, because It is not the Words and Phrases, but the Sense and Meaning which is the Law: And therefore we commonly say, That *Ratio Legis Lex est*. Now nothing can be more plain, then that the Bounds of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction were Framed on purpose, that they might not interfere with the Civil Power; And as hereby the Church manifested her Tenderneß and Regard to it, and the Subjection of her Members, To She Reaped no small Benefit by it. Hence  
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the Limits of Jurisdiction in the Church followed the Divisions of the State: Where the Governour of the Province had his Residence, there of course the Metropolitcal Authority placed it self, and the Bishop of that City was he, whom the Apostles Canons, (*Can. 35.*) call the First, to whom all the other Bishops of the Province are to have such a peculiar Regard, that they are to Act nothing of Common Concern without his Concurrence. And so after the Division of the Empire into Diocesses, suddenly rose up that Rank of Men since called Patriarchs. But by the way we must observe, that this did not take in all places. For in some Cities where the Vicars of the Empire Resided, were not of Strength, Interest and Power sufficient to Mount their Bishops into Patriarchs. Besides, the Bishops of the Church were exceeding jealous of this new start-up Power, as favouring more of Worldly Pride, then Episcopal Care, and therefore kept it out wherever they could: And the wary *African* Bishops made a Decree against so much as the Use of the Name; And great Reason they had for it, for it would be no hard Matter to prove, that by this means crept in those Abuses and Corruptions into the Church, which are now Maintained with a Pretence of Authority, and therefore the more Remediless. Moreover, as this new Honour was dangerous, so it was needless, for the Diocesses, though they seemed to swallow up, yet they did not destroy the Provinces; So that the Metropolitcal Authority remained still Suited to the Government of the State, and was much more safe and better Fitted to keep out Secular Pride, Vanity and Worldly Pomp out of the Church; And though it was thought requisite, that the Ecclesiastical should Comply with the Civil Government, so far as to be useful in the State, yet it was never thought needful to run o it into all Divisions of Civil Government, so as to be prejudicial to the Church. But however, if those Laws of the Church, which Erected or Confirmed Metropolitcal or Patriarchal Power, proceed upon this Grand Reason, That the Government of the Church might be Agreeable to the State, then it is Apparent, that they never did immoveably Fix such Authority to any partieuar places; for Alterations often happening in States that might be clear contrary to their designs; But the End, Sense and Meaning of those Laws must be this, that the Governours of the Church should always be careful, that the Limits of Church mens Jurisdiction should be made to Comply with the Divisions and Limits of the Civil Government, under which they live, that both may Sit easie, and be useful to each other. And doubtless, the God of Order never intended, that his Church should fill the World with Disturbance and Confusion; which will be unavoidable, if those two Powers be always Clashing; If then such Civil Divisions are abolished, and the Government ceased or altered, for whose sake such Metropolitcal



or Patriarchal Power was Erected, then those very Laws themselves, which first Erected it, do in their professed Design, Reason and Intention, not only disannul it, but direct the Governours of the Church to establish or procure the Establishment of such other Limits of Jurisdiction, as may be more satisfactory to the State, and beneficial to the Church. Indeed, all these Supremement dignities, whereby one Bishop was raised above another, were Erected either for the better Management of Affaires in the Roman Empire, or for the Grandeur of it; Or else sprang up by degrees for the benefit of those Cities, which were of greatest Power and Interest, in which thing *Rome* had the most advantage, as being the Imperial City, and giving Denomination to the whole Empire. But now that Empire being broken, and Resolved into several absolute and independent Principalities, other Measures ought to be taken, and for the same Reason, that such Authority was set up, it ought now to be taken down, or Restrained; And the Limits of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Confined within the Extent of the Civil Power, and Exercised for its Ease, Safety and Benefit. And it seems to Me to be a Matter not to be despised, that though the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament were written under the Government of the *Roman* Empire, and in the time of its greatest Height and Glory; yet the word *Emperour*, (so far as I can Call to mind) is no where to be found there. Indeed there is a Precept Relating to *Cæsar*, by Reason of a particular Question, which determined it to that Name, and the word *Augustus* and *cæsar*, (which Answers it) are Historically mentioned; But these (what use soever After-times made of them) were then Gentilitial or Honourary Titles: But the Name *Emperour* was that by which they then Ruled, and which Held all along, whatever other Titles or Distinctions were devised; And that I think is no where to be found in the New Testament, at least, not in that sense; Perhaps the word *ἀρχηγός*, which mostly Answers it, was thought too presumptuous; However it is, the Security the New Testament gives them, is only by Commanding Obedience to the Higher Powers, or in the like Phrases, never mentioning their distinct Title. But though the Name of Kings was odious to the *Romans*, yet most of the Evangelical Precepts, which Require Obedience to the Civil Power, expressly direct it to Kings; so that they seem to be given not only with a Spirit of Prophecy, that that great unwieldy Body should fall in pieces, and be divided into several Kingdoms, but also with a special design to secure and oblige all Christians to Obedience and Submission to such Kings. And if we farther consider, that our Blessed Saviour hath told us, *That his Kingdom is not of this World*; And that the Christian Religion teacheth Self denial and Renunciation of the World, and Requires all Christians, especially the Governours of the Church, to be of a most humble, peaceable and exemplary Behaviour.

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This kind of Proceedings in its Government will seem most agreeable and natural to it ; For the Business of Church-Governours is to promote the Interest and Power of the Gospel, not pertinaciously to strive for Jurisdiction to its prejudice and dishonour. If each Changes happen in Mundane Affairs, that by Alteration of the Bounds of Temporal Principalities, one Bishop gain and another lose ; yet the Church of God lesseth nothing but hereby gains its Peace, and a good opinion amongst the Princes of the Earth ; And Church-Governours have the greater freedom and more Advantage to do good. But the insisting upon Jurisdiction in another Christian Princes Dominion, is to take his Subjects from him ; It ever causeth Disturbances, Creates Jealousies in Princes, and makes them think those who should be the best Christians, to be the worst Subjects ; And for that cause to have the meaner opinion of Religion it self ; It would therefore certainly be best with the Church of God, and most conduce to its happy Government, if this Rule were observed in all Christian Kingdoms, that the Jurisdictions of Bishops should Comply with, and Conform to the Divisions & Boundaries of the Civil Power. This was the true primitive Practice, and this the Bishops have ever been inclinable to, when they have been able to withstand that everlasting Encroacher the Bishop of Rome: Of which take this one Instance, Immediately after the Synod at *Constantinople* against *Photius*, a Controverſie arose, to whose Diocess the *Bulgarians*, then newly Converted to the Faith, should belong. The Bishop of *Rome* (who never lost any thing for want of demanding it) made strong Claim by his Legats. Upon this Account there Meets before the Emperour in his Palace, *Ignatius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, then newly Restored, the Vicars of the Eastern Patriarchs, i. e. of *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*, the Legats of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Legats of the *Bulgarians*. But upon debate, in spite of all the Endeavours of the *Roman* Legats, it is unanimously given to the *Constantinopolitan*, and such a Reason along with it, as might have satisfied any Persons, except Messengers from *Rome*, who are never to be satisfied with any thing, but with what shall be acceptable to their Masters insatiable Covetousness, and boundless Ambition. For their joynt Answer is this, *Satis indecens est, ut Vos, qui Græcorum Imperium destruentes, Francorum fœderibus inhaeritis, in regno nostri Principis ordinando jura servetis* So that though no sort of Men were more given to Encroachments, then the Patriarchs, yet of Five, (and those if I mistake not, all that were then in being) we have four to one who are for the old Rule, That Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction should be Suited to the Limits of the Civil Power.

XXXIII. What hath been said upon Supposition of the Patriarchship extended over these Isles, hath been Argued purely *ex Abundanti* ; For having before proved, that it did not extend to them, we could not be bound to

submit to it; And though the Pope did by degrees thrust in and possess himself of a Jurisdiction here for a long time, yet from the foregoing Arguments it will Appear, that he was only Possessor *Male Fidei*, whom neither the Ecclesiastick nor Civil Laws will suffer by any length of time to prescribe; And therefore he was Canonically thrust out again. Hence it follows, That the Churches of these Isles are Accountable to no other Church, or Church-men as Superiour, but remain only in the dependance of Co-ordinate or Sister-Churches to all Others, who all are mutually bound to each other what in them lies to uphold Communion, and Acquit themselves of doing anything, that may be detrimental or injurious to the whole; But for the Matter of Government, Order, Reforming Abuses, and the like, the Power is in themselves: Others may Advise, but cannot Control, unless the Universal Church of God be damnified by their Actions. And thus having found our Churches invested with a power of Governing and Reforming themselves; We now have only to enquire, how it hath been made use of, which directly leads Me to the Actual Separation and Reformation.

XXXIV. If any Man will see Himself to Examine a great Action, which involves variety of Matter, is Carried on thorough Multitudes of difficulties, Managed by divers Hands, and necessarily requires no small time for its Accomplishment; And then expects that in all Parts and Circumstances it should be without Exception; He may as look for such a thing in the Kingdom of Heaven; but if ever he can find it on Earth, I dare engage my self to be his Bondslave, and therefore unnecessarily to put ill Constrictions upon Matters, to pick little Quarrels, to Call in every mean and slight Failing, and to Rave against the Miscarriages of particular Persons, though disallowed, this is only to sting det and calumniate, not to draw up a just Accusation. If therefore they cannot Wound our Reformation in the Essentials, Christian Charity would teach them to cover a multitude of small faults, and Common Prudence would Advise them not to strive to no purpose. The most Celebrated Theme upon this occasion is Sacrilege; And here even those, whose profound Ignorance suffers them not to stir a step further than their Guides conduct them, (and yet with a blind Obedience follow whithersoever they lead them,) can be not only Eloquent but bitter: But as for those, who have the Reins in their Hands, and would fain be B idling us, never any Subject yielded Matter for More Tragical Exclamations; But if railing against Sacrilege would do us any good, we are as ready to do that as themselves; We are so far from allowing it, that with sorrowful Hearts we bewail it, and openly Avow that we detest it; And indeed, of all other persons it is we, who suffer most under it. Some Benefices (if they deserve the Name) are so wofully impoverished, that they will

will scarce afford the Curate Bred; so that if for the sake of a bare Livelihood he do not give up himself right or wrong to Sooth up his Parishioners, every Plough boy will trample upon him, and they will set up some Mongrel Teacher or other of their own, on purpose to torment him. And again, we being destitute of a tolerable Maintenance for so great a stock, as the Universities send abroad amongst us, (which would be none too few, had not the Church been Robb'd of her Revenues) many discontented Spirits Fly over to the Church of *Rome*, not for Religion, but in Hope of Preferments, or through Vexation of Mind, or driven by want. So that this Sacrilege hath Fill'd their Seminaries, and plagued us with domestick Schismatics. In the mean time, that we suffer with patience the spoiling of our Goods, I think may rather deserve any Mans pity then blame: But for the Spoylers themselves I shall as little plead for them, as any Son of the Church of *Rome*: And I wish there were not too many, who are still Gaping after, and Work all their Wits in contriving how they may seize the poor Remainder. But however the Catholicks, (as they call themselves) ought to be extremely wary how they accuse or point out the guilty Persons in this bad Case, lest they Condemn themselves. For if some such Parable as *Nathan* put to *David*, were offered to the *Romanist*, it would be said in the Conclusion, *Thou art the Man*. For let them deal fairly and ingeniously with us, and the most Considerable Persons who made such a squander of the Churches Rights, will be found to be Men who died in the *Roman* Communion.

XXXV. And upon this Account it seems strange to Me, why they should so strictly enquire into, and so nicely insist upon Matters done by *Henry* the Eighth, and his Clergy; for if it be with a design to Charge us with them, it is much the same thing, as when a Villain cuts anothers Throat, and as soon as he hath done slips the bloody Knife into an innocent Mans pocket. For who were they that yielded up or seized their Monasteries, and made such havock of Church Lands? Who were they that first set up *Henry* the Eighth's Supremacy, and Wrote in defence of it? Who was it that Maintained the Supremacy beyond the Seas in so gross a sense, that even *Calvin* Himself thought his Prerogative invaded, and was out of patience at it? These Men all lived and died in the *Roman* Communion; And if they were not *Roman* Catholicks, what were they? *Henry* the Eighth after the Assuming the Supremacy, was judged so good a Catholick, even by the Pope Himself, that he could find no Fitter a Person to Recommend for a Pattern to the Emperour. What Heresie soever there might be in detaining the *Peter*-pence, or setting up his own power, it seems he was Catholick enough in his Proceedings upon the Six Articles. Any thing they imagine to be ill, must be Ours; But make Enquiry after the Authors, and they are all their own: Methinks it should concern them to Acquitt themselves, before they  
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fall foul upon us. Nay, if we proceed forward so far as to the Reign of Queen Mary, the Persons who had the greatest Influence on those Revolutions will be found Men of their own Persuasion; for except some few, whose Proceedings were more easily Answered with Fagots then Arguments, those on our part will not be very Considerable, throughout the Reigns of Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth; Scarce any two Persons seem to be deeper dipt in Sacrilege, then the Vicar-General *Cromwell*, and *Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland*; yet how profound Hypocrites soever they might live, our *Oxford Church-Governors* will have them both Roman-Catholicks at their Death; Others, if they think it worth their while, may Contest it with him; But for Me he may take them both, and make his best of them. Only I think it a Reasonable Request, that since he will needs have their Persons, he would be pleased to take their faults along with them, and not accuse us for the Crimes of his Brethren.

XXXVI. But let particular Persons, whether theirs or ours, Answer for their own demerits; I can be heartily sorrowful for the Men, but never will be an Advocate for their Mis-deeds. The only Matters of any moment, for which we can be concerned, I conceive must be either Doctrine, Discipline, Worship or Government. Now though the Pope might think himself obliged to stickle for his profits, and above all for his Supremacy, yet the *Roman Catholicks* themselves did not think the Changes in Religion of such Weight, that upon that Account they should make a perfect Schism. For till *Elton* fixed the Bull of *Pius* the Fifth upon the Bishop of *Londons* Palace Gate, the *Roman Catholicks* freely frequented our Churches, and joyned in Communion with us: And this was no small time, for this was not done till the eleventh or twelfth year of Queen *Elizabeth*; So that a small matter would have made her *Catholick*, if she could have digested the *Roman* Supremacy; And though the *Romanists*, so far as concerned Religion, thought themselves bound to obey the Pope, yet the discreeter sort of them were not a little offended, that they were thus thrust headlong into so dangerous a Schism. For this we have the Testimony of Mr. *Cambden*, a Person beyond Exception, not only as he was a Man of Singular Judgement, and Learning, and a faithful and prudent Historian. But as being personally Acquainted with the Transactions of those times; His Words are these, *Ceterum hanc Bullam Pontificii plerique moderatioris tacite improabant, quod nulla ex jure admonitio præcesserit, & prævidentes molem malorum inde sibi impendere, qui prius privatim sua sacra intra parietes suis secum è voluntum, vel recepta in Ecclesia Anglicana sacra sine Conscientia Scrupulo adire non Recusarunt*, (*Annal. Eliz. ad Ann. Dom. 1570.*) So that the Reformation was indeed made on our part, for which we wanted neither good Cause, nor sufficient Authority; But the Separation was made by the Pope; For had not He Excommunicated Queen



Queen *Elizabeth*, for what Reason the *Romanists* held Communion with us till such Excommunication, for the same it might have continued to this day, and no Schism made. But if this Excommunication had neither lawful Authority, nor just cause, then will the Pope be not only the Author but cause of the Schisma, and draw the whole guilt of it on him and his party. The proof of this in particular I will not insist on here, because it will be abundantly done in the progress of the Work, especially in the second and third part; if it shall please God that I live to Finish them. Only here I will leave this Choak-pear, which I desire my Adversary to swallow before he Attaque me, That whosoever undertakes the Defence of that Bull, (besides all other Extravagancies which he shall be obliged to maintain) must in the first place fairly Confess himself to be a Rebel and a Trayter as to Principles of Civil Government, and obliged in Conscience actually to be so, as often as the Pope requires, and of this the Pope to be the sole and uncontrollable Judge.

XXXVII: Having here slipt into the mention of Queen *Elizabeth*, it may not be altogether impertinent to Acquit Her of one dishonourable Scandal, wherewith some foul Mouth'd *Romanists* endeavour to Blat her Memory. If *Henry* the Eighth belonged to any, he was certainly theirs not ours; Yet in Handling the Reformation, they spare not to charge Him with all the indecencies true or false, which they can Rake together; But nothing is more exagitated then his two First Marriages, and that often in such fulsom and obscene Language, as is not a little offensive to chaste Eares. The Design of all this is, that they might invalidate Queen *Elizabeths* Title to the Crown, upon which score some ruder *Romanists* will at this day as familiarly and confidently call Her Bastard, as if she had been found in the Streets, laid at some door in a Basket. It is well known, that she was a Person so excellently qualified for Government, that even living she struck Envy dumb, and made those who most implacably hated Her, to Admire Her? It might therefore justly move Indignation in any Generous Spirit to see every Ass spurn at a dead Lion. But if this were as true as it is false, yet if they would deal ingeniously, they must confess, that this could no way effect the Church, as to that Power Conferred on it by God, and that Authority, which doth always distinctly and entirely remain in it self; Only it may leave the Church destitute of any Legal Civil Sanction during her time; And if for that they will Condemn us, they may as well Condemn the Christian Churches of the first three Hundred Yeares, and then we shall not be much afraid in so good Company. But there is nothing but Malice or Ignorance in the thing it self, and the *Romanists* of all Men ought to be cautious in this Matter; because whilst they Fence with this Two-Edged Sword; intending to Cut Queen *Elizabeth*, they as deeply Wound Queen

*Mary.* Neither will the Sickly *Salvo* of the Popes Dispensation stand them in any stead; for it is not only we who deny that his Power reached to it, but the greatest part of their own Universities, gave it under their Hands and Seals. And indeed this was at that time so generally the Opinion of the *Romanists*, That the Author of Church-Government freely Acknowledgeth, (though little to the Credit of his Cause) that when *Mary* was Offered in Marriage First to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and after to *Francis* King of *France*, She was Refused by both on this Account, because they doubted of the Lawfulness of *Henry's* Marriage with her Mother, (*part. 5. cap. 2.*) But for my part I am not of their Humour, who take a pleasure in bespattering Princes; and to do it by our own, can be no Honour to our selves. I do not see, that any thing Alledged, can be any real Prejudice either to *Mary* or *Elizabeth*, for the Succession to our Crown depends neither upon Canons nor Councils, much less upon Popes Bulls and Decretals, but upon the Constitutions of our Kingdom. And it was never yet doubted, but that King *Henry* was Married as well to *Katherine* as *Anne Bolen*; And if the Marriage was Solemnized, the Children are Legitimate by our Laws, which abhor all thoughts of any such thing as Bastards in Matrimony. 'Tis true, our Laws permit and Authorize Ecclesiasticks to divorce such Persons, who Marry within the degrees prohibited, but yet suffer no prejudice to be done to their Issue. And if the Parents, though too near of Kin, were Legally Married, their Children shall succeed to their Estates and Rights in the same manner, that other Persons Children do, where the Marriage was without Exception. And it is very hard Measure to deprive a King of that privilege, which belongs to the meanest of his Subjects, especially in this Case, which may endanger to involve a Nation in Confusion and Ruine. Let King *Henry* therefore Answer for his own faults, what iniquity soever there might be in his Marrages, yet being Married, his Issue are Legitimated; And I doubt not but that *Mary* and *Elizabeth* were both in their Turns our Lawful Sovereigns, I will therefore prosecute this no further, save with a Request to the *Romanists*, that henceforward they would cease to set the Childrens Teeth on Edge with the soure Grapes the Father Eat, and be as ready to Acknowledge Queen *Elizabeth* a Lawful Sovereign as we are Queen *Mary*.

XXXVIII. I did once Intend to have thoroughly Examined the Matter of the Reformation, but I find that it would oblige Me rather to Write a Volume than a Chapter; And after all, perhaps, I should be accused of needless pains, for it hath been often and sufficiently done already; And all Answers contain only the *Crambe centies colts*, or some bold Fictions or tedious Triflings. Nor do I think that I can be Constrained to Answer for all that went before me: In this Church I was Born, baptized and Bred; I had no Hand in the Making, Modelling or Altering it; Gods Providence cast Me into it, and

and I take it as I found it. And if as such it be defensible, I need concern my self no further. And therefore without troubling my self to Rake the Dead out of their Graves, I shall Consider our Church under her present Constitution; for if that will not hold, we are gone without more ado; But if that be good, it is not ten thousand faults of Men, who are dead and rotten, that can overthrow it.

XXXIX. I have already proved, that the *Romanists* themselves made the Breach; And it may be more fully proved, if need Require. But two Schismatics may fall out, and both be in the wrong; And therefore that we may Appear to be in the right, something must be said to clear up the Justice of our own Cause; To this End I shall briefly Examine these two things, The Government and the Doctrine of our Church. Government will of course take in Discipline as the Fruits of it: And Doctrine will include Worship, because there is no Abuse or ill Practice in Worship, but it is Founded upon some Error in Doctrine. Government seems to Me therefore to belong even to the Essence of every particular Constituted Church, because without it Ordinances cannot be discharged, Sacraments Celebrated, nor those things Performed, which they are obliged to do in joynt Communion, and as a Body of Men. That this Government be lawful and warrantable, it is to be wished that the Governours might be always good, but it is absolutely necessary, that they have Lawful Authority, and are rightly empowered to do somethings, which other Men may not do. He who saith otherwise must with *Carch* and his Company lay all in Common, which the most Heathenish and Brutish Religions have ever abhorred to do; For this, perhaps, the *Romanists* will not much quarrel Me; But if it were for my present purpose, I could accuse him for being false to these Principles, by allowing the contrary in Practice. But to return to the Business, That Authority be lawful it is requisite, that it be derived from such, who were truly invested with such Authority; for *Nil dat, quod non habet*. And further, that they have likewise a Power or Authority to convey and derive it to others; for it is often Partially Lodg'd in Men, and Incommunicable; as Knights cannot make Knights, nor Lords Lords; And therefore a Lawful Church-Authority must be such as descends from those, who received it from Christ with a Power to transmit it. Now I find not that our Saviour said to any but his Apostles, *As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you*, John 20. 21. And therefore from those Hands wherein they left it, with the like power to transfer it to others, must all Lawful Ecclesiastical Authority come. The Way to Avoid this, is either with *Erasmus* and *Helio*, (who learnt their Politicks from *Jeroboams* Practice) to place all Authority in the Civil Magistrate, or else with the Fanaticks to set up the extraordinary Call and Plea of an Authority immediately from God. Now though too

many of late have put in Practice M. *Hobs* his doctrine, whilst they Rail against his Person, and others are drunk with their pretended Visions & Revelations, thereby Filling Mens Brains with Enthusiasm, and in many places making a Nullity of all Ordinances, yet these are not the Men I have now to do with, and therefore I will not here engage against them. And as for the *Romanists*, I think, I need not dispute it with them; for though they strangely doat on Miracles, yet I could never observe them either very fond of extraordinary Missions, or very free in allowing any Ecclesiastical Authority to the Civil Magistrate. Now if they will take us at this Lock, we are ready to Joyn Issue with them; And to prove, that we have a good Succession of Lawful Authority. They cannot fairly Refuse us here, because this is one of the Prescriptions, which *Tertullian* lays down against Hereticks. *Edunt ergo (sai h he) Origines Ecclesiarum suarum, eolvant Ordinem Episcoporum suorum ita per Successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis viris (qui tamen cum Apostolis Perseveraverint) habuit Antorem & Antecessorem, (de Prescrip.)* Now as for a Succession, possibly there is not any in the Christian World so strongly Twisted, as that of the *English* Churches. If some of the Apostles, and other Apostolical Persons being present in this Isle, and planting Churches; If Ordination from the *British, Irish, French* or *Roman* Bishops, or any or all of these could derive a Lawful Authority to us, we do not want it. We have more Ways of Conveyance, and consequently (of God) more Evidence of our Authority than the *Romanists* themselves; And if the Rest were laid aside, we have the same which they have, and so cannot have less; so little Reason had the Author of *Church-Government* to Conclude his Book with such a passionate Investive against our *Anocaturists*. Indeed, could that Infamous Fable of the *Nags-Head Ordination* have been made good, it would have made a foul Breach in our Succession, if not, put a full stop to it; But never was a most malicious Contrivance more miserably Baffled; Several Learned Pens have not only cleared the Matter of Fact, but disproved the probability, yea, the very possibility of such a thing; so that if any thing more can, nothing more need to be spoken to it. If therefore any *Romanist* will still urge it, in this particular I shall leave him as a Man either past shame, or given up to strong delusions to believe a Lye: Their other objections are of two Sorts, Either against the Legality or the Validity of our Ordination. But because Others have Answered them fully in every minute particular, I shall Content my self with two General Answers; First, That this Neglect or Oversight, (if any such were) of some Circumstances Required by Law, though it may make the Persons obnoxious, yet it doth not invalidate the Ordination; Our Laws Allow Persons to be Married only betwixt Eight and Twelve in the Forenoon; Yet if it Happen, that they be Married at Ten at Night, the Marriage is good.

good, though the Persons be punishable. Some Circumstances in the Management of Ordination may be Regulated by the Civil Power, *i. e.* So far as it hath Regard to the State; But the Ordination it self, and the Validity of it proceeds from a Power so distinct from the Civil, that no Civil Authority or Sanction can either make or disannul it, And therefore such Objections which are made only against the Legality of our Ordination, do tacitely suppose the Validity of it; And so if they were true, are little or nothing to the purpose. As for the other sort of Objections which relate to the Validity of our Ordination, those indeed would be fatal, if they were sufficient. But before I Return my General Answer thereto, I desire it may be observed, That there is more of Interest then Matter in these Objections. For the Church of *Rome* hath such a Jealousie of this small Church, that they think not themselves safe while it is in being; Now if they could invalidate our Ordination, it would take away our Ministry, our Ordinances, and consequently our Church, so that this is a Blow at the Root. And therefore right or wrong they Resolve to stick on this, which may Win some to them, keep Others from us, and Alarm all. And though their Arguments be never so weak, yet being Managed by subtle Heads, they will Apppear the more Considerable; because few Persons are able to judge of a Case of this Nature. But if we were reduced to that State, that they thought themselves out of all danger from us, our Ordination might easily pass. A pretty instance of this hapned in the time of the Rebellion. The Loyal Clergy of this Church, being either starved at home, or driven out into other Countreys, and little or no Hopes appearing, that they should ever be Restored; Dr. *Baſter*, amongst other places, (any place being then better then Home) Travels to *Jerusalem*; And after the mention of his Reception from the *Greeks*, he thus sets down his Entertainment by those of the *Roman Way*. *A* For the Latins, they Received Me with Courtesy into their own Convent, though I did openly Profess my self a Priest of the Church of England: And after some Vexations about the Validity of our Ordination, they procured Me Entrance into the Temple of the Sepulchre, at the Rate of a Priest, that is, Half in Half less then the Laymens Rate; And at my Departure from *Jerusalem*, the Pope's own Vicar, (Called, Commissarius Apostolicus Generalis) gave Me his Diploma in Parchment, under his own Hand and Publick Seal; In it styling Me, Sacerdotem Ecclesiae Anglicanae, & S. S. Theologiae Doctorem. But there was no need to have Travelled so far for an Instance, it being well known, that King *Edward's* Bishops were Admitted in the time of Queen *Mary*, without Re-ordination; so that it is not the Validity of Ordination, but our Non-submission to the Pope which lies at the bottom. It is true, that a Dispensation from *Rome* was talked of, but that was only a Blind. A Dispensation may Reach Circumstances, but not Essentials. If their



former Ordination had been invalid and null, they ought to have been Re-ordained; for no Dispensation, nor all the Popes in the World can make those to be true and valid Orders, which never were so in themselves. He may as well Build Castles in the Air, or Erect stately Palaces without any Material; as to make those really and truly to be Orders, which never were so; It is one thing to Dispense, another to Ordain; Seeing he did only dispense, it is plain that he accused them of no more than some Irregularities in the Circumstances of their Ordination, which though we should not yield, yet I think it unnecessary to dispute, because not being Re-ordained, their former Ordination must be supposed good. 'Tis true, they very devoutly burnt *Ridley*, and one or two others, without degrading them as Bishops; And thence Conclude, that they were never truly such, i.e. They set up a Novel Opinion, and wove it by their own wicked Actions; And the proof will be good, when they are as infallible in Matter of Fact, as they pretend to be in Matter of Right. But it is no New thing for the Court of *Rome*, to make quite contrary Determinations as to the self same thing, as their present Interest leads them. When Queen *Mary* first came to the Crown, and they wanted Help, then King *Edward's* Bishops are to be Invited in, and Acknowledged with the slight *Salvo* of a Dispensation, that the Pope might seem to do something; But when they were a little settled in the Saddle, and could Ride over all who stood in their way; Then none of his Bishops were to be Acknowledged, who did not fully Comply with them; i.e. those who joyned with them were good Bishops; those who opposed them were no Bishops; though the Orders of both stood upon the same Foundation, and were either valid or null for the same Reason. But to avoid the tediousness of discussing the whole Matter, I shall now only Give this General Answer, That in this Way of Arguing they take the Course to undermine and destroy all Succession and Church-power; This I am apt to think, that many of them well enough see; But they think, that we either do not, or will not; and so they are safe enough, whilst it only serves to Route us. The Arguments whereon they lay the greatest Stress in this Matter are such, as may with equal, if not more advantage, be returned upon themselves. 'Tis true, we are not desirous to Molest others; we wish Peace to the Churches, Reasonable things would Content us; and therefore are generally keep on the defensive part, and stand all their Attacks and Opposition. But if by such foul dealing they will continually provoke us, till we change the state of this Scribbling War, and bring it into their own Countrey, what Work will this make? For if they will Vouch these Arguments to be good against our Orders; And we prove, that they are of no less force against their own, or that we have other stronger Reasons against them, whither will they then go for Ecclesiastical Authority? their pride

pride and stomach is too great to Truckle to the Greek, or any other Church, or to Borrow any Authority from them; But if they should, they ought to Consider, whether the same Arguments will not follow them; yea more, whether divers of their Hot-spurs have not Carried them thither already? If so, all their Labour is in vain: And if their Arguments be good, all Church power and Succession is lost. This indeed doth not so fatally affect us as it doth them; because we for good Reasons deny those Arguments to be good, and so keep up our Succession and Ecclesiastical Authority. But what will become of that Church, or what Remedy is left for it, which obstinately maintains the Validity of such Arguments, when they are proved as valid against her self? especially it being a Church of that pride and ambition, as to scorn to own any Authority in any other Church, which she hath not more fully in her self. Now, if rather than not destroy our Orders, they will what in them Lies overthrow all Ecclesiastical Authority and Succession, though thanks be to God they cannot do it, yet it is Apparent, that they will hazard the very Worship of God, and shake the very Foundations of Religion. rather then be frustrated in their malicious Purposes and ambitious Designs. And this I take not to be any strong Temptation to prefer their Communion before all Others.

XL. As for our Doctrine we are willing it should come to the Trial; And I know no better Way to Try it, then by its Agreement with what was Taught by our Saviour and his Apostles; This is the Way *Tertullian* prescribes us, both for the Security of the Church, and Exclusion of Hereticks; For after some things premised he makes this Inference, *Constat proinde omnium Doctrinam, quæ cum illis Ecclesiis Apostolicis Matricibus & Originalibus Fidei conspirat, Veritati deputandam, id sine dubio tenentem, quod Ecclesie ab Apostolis, Apostoli à Christo, Christus à Deo suscepta; Reliquam vero omnem doctrinam de Mendacis præjudicandam, quæ sapit contra Veritatem Ecclesiarum, & Apostolorum, & Christi, & Dei.* And again speaking of Hereticks in general, *Ipsæ enim doctrinæ eorum cum Apostolicâ comparata, ex diversitate & contrarietate sua Pronunciabunt, neque Apostoli aliorum Autoris esse neque Apostolici.* And then shewing how later Churches, or such, which shou'd at any time after be Constituted, might defend themselves against Hereticks, He saith thus, *Ad hæc itaque forma Provocabuntur ab illis Ecclesiis, quæ licet nullam ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis Auctoritatem suam proferant, ut multo inferiores, quæ denique quotidie infirmuntur; tamen in eadem fide conspirantes, non minus Apostolica deputantur pro Consanguinitate doctrinæ, (de Præscrip.)* Now let this be the Test, and in our Defence we say with *Tertullian*, *Posterior nostrares non est, immo omnibus Prior est. Hoc est Testimonium Veritatis ubique occupantis Principatum, (de Præscrip.)* Now let them Charge us, if they can, with Maintaining any Doctrine, as of necessity to Salvation, which came not from Christ or his Apostles; and when they

they can prove that all these did, they shall make Me believe any thing. Only by the Way I cannot but take Notice of the difference between this good Old Father, and the present *Romanists* in their Resolution of Faith, or in the last Result, Standard and Trial of Faith. The One Refers us to what our Saviour taught by Commission from the Father, and the Apostles by Authority from Him, and to Examine Matters by their Agreement herewith: The other without more ado Resolves all into the Authority of the present *Roman Church*. The One saith, *It is the Way of Truth, because the same that Christ and his Apostles Taught*; The Other saith, *We cannot be deceived, because the Present Roman Church Forceth it to be Right*. Now though for my own part I Adhere to the Opinion of the Father, and therein of the Ancient Church; yet I must Confess, that the *Romanists*, whether right or wrong, have laid their Plot well; for if they can once bring a Man to swallow this Proposition, *That the Roman Church is the only certain Rule and Judge of Truth*; Or, *That all things must give Way to their Determinations*; Then as for Particulars, his Work is done, and he is bound with an implicit Faith to swallow them all without any scruple, or the least Examination: Now this is sure and quick Work; but too quick for Me, who as a Christian lying under an Obligation, upon occasion to Render a Reason of the Faith that is in Me, would be willing to know a Reason, that I may be able to do so. That the *Roman Church* saith so will be no Reason, till she produce a better Charter for her Authority, then she hath yet done; And till I and Others can be satisfied by good Reason or Evidence of such Authority. For if a Reason be Required of Me, my Answer that Others say so will be none, unless I can convince them by good Evidence, that their Say-so is of sufficient Authority and indubitable, the Plea indeed of Indefectibility were good, if it were true; But they rather urge that because it serves their Turns, then that they have any good Evidence of it: And the Father, who directs us to trace Truth to the Apostolical Churches, supposes that particular Churches may fall from it. *Sicut* (saith he) *Apostoli non diversa inter se docuissent, ita & Apostolica non contraria Apostolis edidissent, nisi illi, qui ab Apostolis descenderant; & aliter praedicaverunt*, (de Praescrip.) The *Romanists* indeed lay their Scene wisely, they understand well enough what would do their Buiness, and accordingly fail not to plead what must do it with those, who Admit their Plea without proof; The Consequence or Building would be good, if the Antecedent or Foundation were sound: But you must not narrowly Examine that, lest a Rotten Bottom tumble all the stately Pageant down again. If the *Roman Church* be indefectible by Vertue of any Promise made to St. Peter, then other Churches may use the same Arguments, and lay Claim to the same Privileges as well as they; And our own Church as much as any; For their own Authors, and particularly our Sworn Enemy Father

*Parsons,*

*Parsons*, say, that *St. Peter* Preached the Gospel in *Britany*; so that here we are equal, unless it make any thing for their Advantage, that he was so well used here as to Go off safely hence; But after his Return was Martyred there; And so *Rome* may Value her self for that which our Blessed Saviour upbraids *Jerusalem* for, *Killing the Prophets, and Stinging those that were sent unto Her*, (Matt. 23.37.)

XLII. This Matter will fall hereafter under a more particular Consideration; And therefore to Return to Doctrine, it may be Considered either as Positive or Negative. It is true, that all Doctrine Resolves it self into positive Truth; That we Maintain any thing in the Negative is Accidental, and Ariseth from the Difference and Quarrels amongst Men; for when Parties cannot Agree, if One Affirm, the Other of course denies: In this Case, the Matter in Controversie being either Falshood or Wrong, if any Man Assert that which is contrary either to Truth or Justice, we are forced to go somthing the further about in defending them, by first denying and rejecting what is either false or unjust; but then this will terminate in something positive, which is the Foundation and Summary of all. As for Example, if in Opposition to the Practices or Affirmations of Others I deny, That Divine Worship can be Given either to Angels or Saints; The Reason and Ground of that Denial must be this or the like positive Assertion, That Divine Worship is Gods Propriety, and to Him only to be directed. And therefore that we Maintain some things in the Negative, is not our but their fault, in Asserting that which is either false or unlawful; And whether they do so or not must be Tried by Particulars, which I shall come to hereafter.

XLIII. As to positive Doctrines perhaps the Difference is not very great; the Quarrel lies more in what we do not hold, then in what we do; It is not to be denied that we have much Truth, but not enough as they think; And we are afraid of more, lest it should make us have less; for many Matters which they would thrust upon us for Truth, are far remote from it; And should we receive them, it were the way to corrupt the Truth we have; There was a time when some of their Priests set themselves to Reconcile. (and without Allowance and Encouragement they durst not have Attempted such a thing) the very Articles of our Religion to a Catholick Sense, (as they call it,) though many of them were purposely framed in opposition to several of their Opinions and Practices. The Author of Church-Government, (*Part 5. page 205.*) hath discovered a Sense, wherein that great Grievance of the *Romanists*, *The Oath of Supremacy* may be lawfully taken, and that to no other Sense then what he fetcheth from the 37th. of our Articles of Religion; And why then all that Labyrinth of Discourse which follows after upon it, and serves to no other purpose but to Confound Himself and his

his Reader? For can it be imagined, that we our selves should take it in a sense contrary to our Articles of Religion? From our Book of Common Prayer might be Extracted a whole some Body of Divinity; And it shews to the World both what our Worship is, and how our Worship and Doctrine Agree; And if this may be Allowed of, methinks we should not be Hereticks. Now what *Vincentius Parapalia*, the Pope's Legat, proposed to Queen *Elizabeth*, I am apt to think was known to few; For on the one Hand the Honour of the Pope was concerned, if he suffered an open Repulse; On the Other, the Queen, though she Admitted not his Proposals, was unwilling to irritate his Person, he being then very Kind and Civil to Her, contrary to the Petitions and Endeavors of many powerful Adversaries. But that some such Considerable Matters were proposed, that he was Jealous the Queen would think they would never be performed, or at least not long kept, we have some Reason to Guess from the Conclusion of his Letter, which is one of the Kindest that ever any Pope wrote to one He Accounted a Heretick; For thus He Courts Her, *Sed hac de re pluribus verbis idem Vincentius tecum ager, & nostrum tibi Paternum animum declarabit, quem ut benigne excipias, diligenterque audias, eandemque ut ejus Orationis Fidem habereas, quam haberes Nobis: ipsis, Sinceritatem tuam rogamus.* (Annual. Eliz. part. 1 p. 48, Mr. Camden Confesseth, That he could not upon his own Knowledge say, what these Proposals were, and he believes they would never trust them in Writing, but as Secret as they were kept, it seems they took Air, for he subjoyns this following Account, *Fama obrinet Pontificem Fidem dedisse, sententiam contra matris nuptias, tanquam injustam rescissurum; Liturgiam Anglicam sua Auctoritate confirmaturum, & usum Sacramenti sub utraque Specie Anglis permitturum, dummodo illa Romana Ecclesia se aggregaret, Romanaque Cathedra Primatum agnosceret; imò & hac curantibus aliquot auctorum milia fuisse promissa.* (id. ibid. I cannot imagine with what Hopes *Pius* the 4th. sed Himself; Or whether he were better Natured then usually Popes are; But though after this the Queen would not suffer his *Nuncio* the Abbot of *Martinego* to come on *Englis* Shore, yet he continued the same Mildness towards Her; which being unsuccessful, *Pius* the 5th. instigated by the King of *Spain*, and being angry enough Himself, tries a severer Course, and Thunders out his Excommunication against Her; But that succeeded worse then the other: For it not only altogether Alienated the Queens Mind, but Complicated the Breach, and made a total Separation in Communion, which had not been till that time; And it is probable this might make some succeeding Popes milder; for Bishop *Ba-bington* though he Refer it to a Pope after both the former, yet whence-so-ever he had it, he saith plainly, *That the Pope Offered to Allow the Book (i. e. of Common-Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, &c.) to Queen Elizabeth of Eternal Memory, if she would have taken it of Him, as so Allowed of Him,*



*Him*, (on *Numb 7*) But what need of that? For as for the Use of the Sacrament in both Kinds, It is Christs own Institution; And as for our Prayers, being in the Vulgar or known Tongue, it is according to St. *Pauls* Direction. And if these two be not Authority enough without the Pope's Licence, then have we not the Liberty so much as to serve God even according to his own Appointment and Institution, but how and when the Pope pleaseth; And so if the Devil at any time should be big enough in Him, it will be in his power and at his pleasure, whether God shall be openly Worshipped in the World or not. As for the Matter of the Book it is such, that (except some few, which all Men of any sober Communion never esteemed otherwise then as Mad Men) Persons of any Communion in the Christian World may safely joyn in it. When any bring their particular Objections, whether *Romanists* or Others, they shall receive their Answers. As for the *Romanists* I am apt to think, that they would rather add to it: But because we think those to be such Matters as would corrupt it; That must be tried by the Examination of Particulars, which is not the business of this place.

XLIII. As for the Ways or Means of Coming to the Knowledge of the Catholicism of any Doctrine; I know but two whereon the Ancients laid any Stress, Scripture and Tradition. The Sufficiency of the Scriptures as a Rule of Faith, or that they contain all Matters in themselves necessary to Salvation, we not only Maintain, but further say, That since God hath been pleased (for the securing us from the frailtie of Mens Memories, the Misguidance of Mistakes, the Cheat of Impostures and the like dangers) to Cause his Will to be put in Writing, and Compleat the Canon of Scripture; The Scriptures are the only sure and infallible Rule of our Faith; And whatsoever is fetch'd from those Fountains cannot but be Orthodox and Right. Here is our sure Anchor-Hold, and in this the Fathers go along with us. *Nobis* (saith *Tertull.* de *Prescrip.*) *Curiositate opus non est post Christum Jesum, nec Inquisitione post Evangelium.* And *Salvian.* (de *Guber. Dei* lib. 3. p. 67.) *Si scire vis, quid tenendum est, habes Literas sacras: Perfecta Ratio est hoc tenere, quod legeris.* He that Affects Citations may heap up enough to this purpose; Nor doth it do the *Romanists* Cause any Service; That many of their Authors speak so meanly and disgracefully of the Holy Scriptures; for pious Eates do not well bear to Hear the Confessed Word of God Contemptibly Treated; And Mr. *Apolon* seems to Me to have been very impudent in Entitling Part of his Answer to Dr. *Tenison*, *A Confutation of the Doctors Rule of Faith*; for the Doctors Rule of Faith was no other then the Scriptures; And a Confutation of them would of all others be the Work for a Christian. If a difference Arise, Who shall Interpret this Rule? I Answer, First, That whosoever Interpreteth he is bound to his Rule;

And it is not therefore the sense of the Rule, because he saith it; but he is therefore in the Right, because he gives the true Meaning of it; If he speak his own, and not the Rules Meaning, he doth not interpret but deprave. Secondly, I Answer, That if the Priests Lips ought to preserve Knowledge, and the People to seek the Law at his Mouth, then we have a Succession of Lawful Pastors duely Authorized, who no more depend on the *Romanists* then the *Romanists* on them; And so we stand seized of as good Authority to interpret Scripture as any they can justly pretend to; And that we use it more duely and rightly may appear hence, That we not only diligently use all lawful Means to come to the Knowledge of Truth, but Condemn all those ill Arts which obicure or corrupt it; We have no *Index Expurgatorius*, to Expunge or Alter any Passages in the primitive Fathers, or any other honest Authors, if they do not please us; yet by this one base unpardonable Artifice the *Romanists*, whilst they have been underminiaing the sufficiency of the Scriptures, have shaken the Authority, and weakned the Evidence of Tradition, and so disarmed the Church of her best Weapons of Defence; for certainly a Tradition is best proved by those, who lived in or near those times, when it was delivered; But how shall we believe their Testimony, when their Writings are daily Curtail'd, Changed and Falsified at pleasure? And had not that God, who takes Care of his Church, caused the Cheat to be discovered, it would have done more Mischief, then all the diligence and pains of all the *Romanists* in the World could ever have made a just satisfaction for. But this it is, for a particular Church to set up for Infallibility; which is a point that can never be gained, without putting out the Eyes of all at present living, and stopping the Mouths of all that went before them: For though I beleeve, that God will never desert his Church in all parts of it in Matters necessary to Salvation, yet he has not given her any Power over the Faith, but She is Tied to that and that alone which was at first delivered to the Saints; And if the *Roman* or any other Church, or an Angel from Heaven should teach any other doctrine, then what we have received, they ought to be so far from being regarded, that, if we follow St. Paul, they ought to be Accursed. That we Adhere to the Scriptures, the *Romanists* cannot justly blame us, because they themselves Acknowledge their divine Authority. For, see the Council of *Trent* doth. (*Sess. 4. decret. de Can. Script.*) but they accuse us as too strict Scripturists, upon two Accounts, First, because we Admit not Tradition to be of equal Authority with the Holy Scriptures. Secondly, because we receive not several Books as Canonical, or of unquestionable divine Authority, which they have thrust into the Canon. As for Tradition and its Authority, I shall Treat of it more distinctly in the next Paragraph, and there answer this Accusation. As for the Canon of Scripture, we own the very same and no other, which

the Church of God hath Handed down to us, after the Canon of Scripture was Completed: As for those Books Called *Apocrypha*, which the Council of *Trent* first made Canonical, it is Apparent, That we do not by that Title utterly Condemn them, but rather Repute them of an Inferiour or Ecclesiastical Authority; because we Read them in our Churches for Instruction of Manners, and inciting to good Living; And sometimes use them for the Illustration of Doctrine, but never to Introduce or Found any Doctrine upon, and this is as much as the Ancients allowed them. The *Jewish* Church was the Keeper and Preserver of the Canon of the Old Testament, as much as the Christian is of the Old and New now: But they had none of those Books in their Canon; And therefore if any Assert, that those Books do belong to the Canon, the Consequence will be, That the *Jewish* Church did not preserve the Canon of Scripture entire and true, and for the same Reason any one may suspect the Christian, and so render the Authority of the whole dubious: So injurious are the *Romanists* to the Faith it self, whilst they set up their own Authority against the whole Church of God. Besides, if they will not own, that we received the entire Canon of the Old Testament from the *Jewish* Church, they ought to tell us from whom we did receive it, and to whose Custody it was Committed till the time of Christ and his Apostles? But whoever will be at the pains to read the *Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture*, Written by our Learned Dr. *Cosins* Bishop of *Duresme*, will be abundantly satisfied, that the *Tridentines* under pretence of Tradition have Enlarged the Canon of Scripture, contrary to the Tradition of the Church of God in all Ages, even to their own time. Thus when Modern Mens bare word must be allowed a sufficient Authority to Vouch a Tradition, a Pretence of Tradition is set up against the truth of it, and so Tradition it self rendred doubtful or useless; And therefore I shall not trouble my self to pursue those many particular shuffling pleas, which they use to Justify themselves in offering violence to the Sacred Canon; But if you would know the true Reason, which it was their Business to Conceal; I believe *Spalato* hath Hit on it, *Suas non poterant Nanas ex Sacra Scriptura verè Canonica probare, ideoque noluerunt permittere, ne sibi alie Scriptura etiam non Canonica eriperentur, quo suas qualescumque habereis phantasias, unde scicula desumerent, ac præterea viderent, ac præterea ne viderentur re in aliquâ Protestantibus cedere aut consentire, maluerunt etiam falsa turri & de- finire.* (de Repub. Ecc. lib. 7. cap. 1. Num. 28.)

XLIV. He that doth believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God, must of course believe their Sufficiency, or that they contain all Matters necessary to Salvation, for they give this Testimony to themselves: And he that believes them to be the Word of God, must believe the Testimony they give either of themselves or others; St. *Paul* saith, *They are able to make*

*Man's wife to Salvation, (2 Tim. 3. 15. 16.)* But that cannot be so, unless they contain at least all things necessary thereto; But though the Scriptures be thus sufficient, and contain a certain Sense in themselves, yet by reason of the distance of time, when they were Wrote, through Unskillfulness in Oriental Customs and Phrases where they were Wrote, through Ignorance of some particular Tenets, which some Argumentative part of Scripture is Levelled against, and such like Causes; But above all, through the Perverseness of evil Men and Seducers, it so falls out, That those Scriptures which are of a certain Sense, yea, plain in themselves, are made obicure to us; and we either become doubtful of their Meaning, or follow a wrong Meaning: For what is, or can there be so plain and easie, which some wicked Men have not or cannot render intricate and perplexed, especially to weak Judgements and facile Tempers? Now for the Discovery of the true Sense of Scripture in this Case, true and genuine Tradition is possibly the best Help and surest Refuge, and to Wrest the Scriptures out of the Hands of Hereticks, and Restore the Rule to its true Force, right Use and proper Meaning, perhaps there is not a surer nor more effectual way; for our Blessed Saviour Himself Wrote nothing, or at least nothing which he designed to be a perpetual Standard and Rule to all his Followers; It is said indeed, (*John 8. 5.*) *That He Wrote with his Finger on the Ground:* But what that was no Body can tell. *Eusebius* indeed Records an Epistle of his to *Agbarius*; but if the Story be true, (and I have no mind to derogate from the Reputation of so Learned and Industrious an Historian) yet it was to a particular Person, in Answer to a particular Request; And the principal Contents are a Promise, *That after his Death one of his Disciples should come, and both Cure and Instruct Him;* Nor was it ever Accounted as any part of Canonical Scripture. The Apostles indeed being Led by the Spirit into all Truth, not only taught it to the then present Age, but Committed it to Writing for the benefit of Posterity; But then they Wrote nothing contrary or disagreeing with what they preach'd and taught, both before and after they wrote. And there is no doubt, but that those Doctrines which they Comprized summarily in the Scripture, were expounded more fully in their daily Conversation, and continued discharge of their Ministerial Function. If therefore any doubt or Controvercie did Arise concerning the Meaning of Scripture, there could be no better way to determine it, then by enquiring in what Sense those Churches understood it, which the Apostles had planted, & where upon all Occasions they at large Explained themselves; for it is certain, That the Apostles best knew their own Meaning; And when they were no longer living to tell it, let witty or wicked Men make never such a Bustle or fair Shew, it will be very difficult to perswade any sober Men, but that those must needs best know their Meaning, to whom the Apostles themselves most amply discovered

covered it. Now it being the great Business of Hereticks to corrupt the Scriptures, and wrest them to a wrong sense, that they might seem to have a sufficient Authority patronizing their Errours; When it so Hapned, the Ancient Church usually declined the Nice Way of Cavilling and Captious Disputes, and fell to enquire what was the Doctrine and Sense of the Apostolick Churches; for it could not be but that those, to whom the Apostles had preached all their days, must better understand their Meaning, than any Upstarts who followed their own Imaginations, and were fond of New and pestilent Notions; And by this means they not only Silenced Hereticks, but wrung the Scriptures and the Interpretations of Them out of their Hands, and then turned them against them. And whilst Apostolical Men were living, this was a sure Way; And so far as such Tradition can be proved to have been preserved genuine and true, it is still a good Way: And when the *Romanists* have endeavoured to bring the Cause to this Issue, I think they have had no great Cause to boast of their Gains, Witness (to avoid Naming many) the Controversie Managed by Bishop *Jewel* and *Harding*. But then as to Tradition these Cautions would be observed. 1. That this is no prejudice to the Scriptures, being the only sufficient Rule of Faith; for though the Apostles wrote and taught the same things, and so both were alike a Rule to the then living Persons; yet when those things were put in Writing, it was for this very Reason, *That a Sure and Certain Rule might be Preserved for Posterity*; For Tradition might in time be mistaken, forgotten or corrupted; But the Scriptures would remain unalterable. So that the Scriptures are the Rule to us, though there are many Helps to lead us to their true Meaning, of which perhaps genuine Tradition is none of the worst. But this makes nothing against the perfection and sufficiency of the Scriptures, which contain all things necessary to Salvation, though they do not find us Eyes to see, nor Ears to hear, nor Brains to Consider; though God doth all this, and all other Helps abundantly. All Arts and Sciences are supposed to be Complete in themselves, and to contain Rules sufficient to instruct a Man in them; And yet some of the Noblest of them can never be thoroughly Attained, unless a Man be first Instructed in the Rudiments of some other Arts or Sciences preliminary, and preparatory to them. But the Scriptures being the most perfect Rule, as proceeding from the All-wise God, and leading to the Noblest End, why should not Others or rather all be subservient to them? yet this is so far from making them less, that it argues their greater Perfection. Secondly, That nothing be Admitted as a Tradition, which hath not some Apparent Foundation in Scripture, for that being the undoubted Word of God, whatever is not Agreeable thereto, much more whatsoever is contrary to it, ought never to be admitted. But by Reason of our own Weakness, or Others Frowardness, the



the Rule in some Cases being not so clear, a true primitive Tradition, in relation to Matters contained in Scripture, may be very useful to lead us to the true Sense, as in the Case of Infants Baptism, the Observation of the Lords Day, and some other Matters. For all the Churches of God from the first times, having Baptized Infants, and duely observed the Lords Day, it must be supposed, That the Apostles did unanimously so teach the first Churches, and consequently that those General Precepts concerning Baptism in Scripture, are inclusive of the Children of believing Parents; And that those Scriptural Instances of the Observation of the Lords Day, were intended to direct our Practice: Nor let any Man think, that the *Romanists* will be Gainers by this; for I will never deny any Truth for fear of giving Advantage to an Adversary: Whatever they can prove from Scripture, Expounded by such truly primitive Tradition, as shall be agreeable to the two foregoing and the following Cautions, I shall freely yield to them or any other Party. But if the Matter come to this Issue, they must lose all the most Considerable things, for which they Contend with us. I know they make great Flourishes, and pretend Scripture back'd with Tradition, for Purgatory and some other Fopperies; but what can I or any Man help it, if they will use the best means for the worst Ends? They know good Rules, but use them ill. For as for such a Notion of Purgatory, which they have set up, and such a Use for it as they have devised; as there is not any Footsteps of it in Scripture, so was it utterly unknown to the primitive Church; or if it could have been known, would have been Abominated. And if Men will have the Impudence to pretend without any colour for their Pretences, yet I will not forsake a good Course because they abuse it. Thirdly, that nothing be admitted as a genuine Tradition, but what was universally received, and wherein all the primitive Churches were agreed, according to that known Rule of *Vincentius Lyrinensis*, *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*, or (as he otherwise phraseth it) *Universalis & Antiquitatis Consensio*. Nothing can be so plainly spoken, but the Weakness, the Heedlessness or the Malice of some Persons may mistake or corrupt it. Thus the Millenary Error sprang from *Papias* misunderstanding *John* the Elder; And his Authority again seems to have Influenced *Irenaeus* and *Justin Martyr*; But this Meeting with Opposition in the Church, and being in the End Exploded, is hath only the Reputation of a very early Mistake, and serves well for an Instance to shew how quickly Tradition may be Corrupted, unless the Churches of God be exceeding vigilant. What the Apostles taught for the Common Concern of our Salvation in any one Church, they taught the same in all; and therefore unless they all Agree, that there is a Mistake is certain, whether there be a Tradition, or where it lies is uncertain; and so at least it is useless. But though here and there a Man might in some particular things

things mistake the Apostles, and by their means Others might be deceived; yet that all Persons of all Churches should clearly mistake the Apostles in any necessary matter, notwithstanding they lived so long, and daily so Labour'd in the Word and Doctrine, is a thing incredible: And therefore wherein they unanimously Agree concerning the Doctrine of the Apostles, no doubt but it is the best Exposition of the Doctrine in the Scriptures; the same things being written for our perpetual Instruction, which were at first preached for the benefit of the then living Generation. Fourthly, that Traditions be always deduced from the First Ages of the Church; for Traditions are received, not made; And if they proceeded not from Apostles and Apostolick Persons, they can never become genuine Traditions afterwards. What was delivered to the first Churches, though since neglected, lost or forgotten, was a true and genuine Tradition; and is so still, if it can be discovered; But if any thing be Vouched as a Tradition, though of a Thousand yeares standing and more; yet if it came not from the First Churches, it is not a Tradition but an Imposition; And such are most of the *Roman* Traditions, much like those of the Pharisees, of whom our Saviour saith, *That they had made the Commandment of God of none effect by their Traditions*, (Mt. 15. 6.) and yet they called them the Traditions of the Elders, (verse 2.) and stood then up for their Antiquity as stoutly as the Other do now. But (as *Tertullian* observes, *lib. de Praescrip.*) *Veritas mendacio prior est*. And therefore here we are to follow, *not quod Antiquum, but quod Antiquissimum*. Lastly, that a Difference be observed as to Traditions, according to their Nature and Rise; There are Traditions of particular Churches, arising mostly from the Orders and Constitutions of some Venerable Apostolick Persons, made and prescribed to the Churches, which they respectively Governed; These Claim a Respect, not only upon the Account of their suitableness to Order, but also in Honour of the Persons from whom they came; but yet they oblige not other Churches. None indeed ought to condemn them, but they may lawfully either use or disuse them, as their present Church-Governours shall think Fitting for the benefit of the present Churches. Some Traditions are more Universal, as proceeding from the Apostles themselves; but if they be only concerning things in their own Nature indifferent, neither are these immutably binding. That some such were is Apparent from that of *St. Paul* to the *Corinthians*, (1 Cor. 11. 34.) *The Feast will I set in Order when I come*: But if any Man can certainly tell Me what Orders he made, *Erit mihi magnus Apollo*: And perhaps the Apostle never Committed them to Writing, lest an over-great Veneration to Apostolical Authority should Run other Churches into an inconvenience; For those very Orders, though most wisely Fitted to the Church of *Corinth*, might at the same time be inconvenient for other Churches, yea, for the

very self-same Church in following times. For though some indifferent things must of Necessity be determined, because otherwise the Solemn Worship will unavoidably be disorderly and indecent, yet such Orders can never be so Fixed for all Churches, as to be of a perpetual, immutable and unalterable Nature; For Climates, Customes, Times, Persons, do variously alter the state of Matters; so that what is prudently Constituted in one Church, may be very inconveniently and indiscreetly enjoyed in another; And therefore, though such Apostolical Constitutions deserve Veneration, as being unquestionably best Fitted to the then present Churches; yet it remains in the Power of Church-Governours to lay them aside upon just Occasion, and Constitute Others in their Room, as may be most for the good of the Churches. Again, some Traditions concern the Practice of the Universal Church, which obtained in all places, and these have their Ground and Warrant from Scripture; but their particular Determination from Church-Authority, which is still preserved to us by Tradition; Of this we have a clear Instance in the Fasts and Feasts of the Church, as Gods Signal Mercies require our Solemn Thanksgivings, so our own Sins, especially the publick, Call on us openly to Humble our Souls before God, and to give manifest Testimony of our Repentance; Besides, to tame our unruly Affections, and Fit us for the discharge of our Duty, Acts of Mortification are very requisite; To this the Scriptures direct us, and thereof gives us many Instances: But when this shall be done, (I mean publickly, for as to private Thanksgiving or Mortification, relating to Mens private Concerns, they may use their Discretion, provided that they thwart not the Orders of the Church) is partly pointed out to us by the times, when such Mercies were received, or Evil done; and partly determined by Ecclesiastical Authority. And this even Natural Reason it self doth so fully teach, that there never were any Men of any Religion, how barbarous soever, but they had their Solemn Fasts and Feasts. Upon this Account I was very sorry to find a Relation in Mr. Ricaut (*Sr. of Turk:*) to this Effect, That certain Fanatical Merchants of ours Residing at Smyrna, and some other parts of the *Turky* Dominions, being observed to keep neither Fast nor Feast, but to use every day alike, all Persons presently esteemed them as Men of no Religion, and look'd on them as Persons who thought they had no God, against whom they could offend, nor from whom they had, or might hope to receive Favours. But though these Men were of our Countrey, they were not of our Communion; And we are not to Answer for their ill Examples, who have forsaken us chiefly for this Reason, that they might take their full swing in Running a Whoring after their own Inventions. The most Ancient Feasts and Fasts are Appointed by the Constitutions of our Church, and Confirmed by the Laws of the Land; If we regard not some in the *Roman* Church,

it is

it is because they are Apparently of later date, and introduced by their own Authority, which obligeth not us; Besides, we much doubt of the Popes Skill in discerning these later Saints, but more of his power to make them such. If it be observed, that our own Fasts and Feasts are ill observed among us; I grant it to be true, but I say it is not our fault; Ill Men and ill Times have been and still are too hard for us; and not to Complain of the too many Obstructions of Discipline, (without which no Church can long stand, much less flourish, which is the Reason that all Parties whatsoever have unanimously combined to hinder the Exercise of our Discipline, that by that means they might have opportunity, upon all Occasions, to make their full blow at the Church it self) though our Church hath had the Laws on her side, yet she hath ever had the Lawyers (without whom the rest could have done nothing) her Enemies, who have made even the Laws themselves either insignificant or hurtful to Her. I speak not of the whole Body of them, for there are many Honest and Honourable Persons amongst them; But there want not enough, who are sworn Enemies of Church-Discipline, and all Ecclesiastical Authority; who lay Trains and Snares for the Governours of the Church if they execute it; And if any Man be Constrained to defend the Sanctions or Rights of the Church, they will encourage Parties, and make Interests against Him, lead him thorough all the Courts in the Kingdom, till they have undone him; And expose Him as if he were the vilest Man living: They will neither suffer the Censures of the Church to take place, nor her Rights to be gotten; Nay, more I will be bold to say, that partly by quite discharging some Tithes, and by breeding lewd Modus's and upstart Customes, and other Sly Tricks, they have deprived the Clergy of one fourth, of what the Bare-faced Church-Robbers left; And if they be suffered to go on at this Rate, they will in some few Generations insensibly Ecger all the Livings in the Kingdom. Now what can we do against these, and many other powerful and inveterate Opponents, whom I will not Name? Our Constitutions are good; We wish and endeavour what we fairly can, that they may be kept: They must Answer it to God Almighty, who will not suffer it. But to leave Complaining, where we are like to have no Remedy, and return to our Matter: As to Traditions of Matters of Practice, distinction must be made between the Matter of the Tradition and the Circumstances of it; Tradition as to Circumstances may differ in different places and may be Altered by the Power of the Church. Thus as to the Feast of *Easter*, all Agreed in the Tradition, that it was to be observed; But divers Churches disagreed about the time of its Observation, so that whilst some were Fasting, and had not Completed their *Fast*, others had Entred upon the Feast of *Easter*; Here the Church interposed her Authority, and to prevent Disorder and Confusion, reduced the Observation

to a certain time, though it did not take place without a great deal of trouble, so tenacious are people of Ancient Usages, and therefore ought Governments to be very tender of disturbing them, without weighty Reasons. But then as for the Matter of such Traditions, which are genuine and truly primitive, (as of the Observation of *Easter*, and the first day of the Week, commonly called, *The Lords Day*, &c.) I cannot persuade my self, that even the whole Church hath Power to Alter or Abrogate them. What may be done in *Plenitudine Potestatis*, I will not dispute, because it is a thing I have no kindness for. For when Persons will be judges of the Extent of their own Authority, they will be sure to Carve liberally for themselves; And when they will be Acting to the utmost Bounds of it, the odd is ten to one, that they go beyond them. Lastly, other Traditions there may be which relate to Doctrine, but this could be nothing but what the Apostles taught, and therefore must be fetch'd from those they taught it to; And so must be derived from the first primitive Churches; If it started up after, it was an Innovation not a Tradition, though older than *Agastine* or *Ambrosius*: for there could be no Tradition but from the Apostles, and wherein the Churches immediately following them unanimously Agree as to their Doctrine; It serves well for the Explanation of the Sense of Scripture, as hath been shewn; But then it becomes not our Rule, though it is an excellent Help: for a Rule ought to be full, obvious and useful; He that will pretend it full, has doubtless an Aking Tooth at the Holy Scriptures, to explode them as Useless, and then he will leave us no Rule at all; for this pretended Rule is neither obvious nor useful as a Rule; For to fetch the Doctrines of the Christian Religion from the unanimous Consent of all the Apostolick Churches, is a Work for which not one in a thousand is capable: Nay, take twenty for one of their own Priests, and either they are not able, or shall not be suffered to Attempt it; And is this Fit to be set up for a Rule in a Matter of the Eternal Salvation of all Men, which the most cannot, and many, if they could, must not use? This and some other Reason I could give, make me suspect, that the Tridentines in defining the Scriptures and Tradition to be Received *Pari Pietatis affectu ac reverentia*, had this in their Eye, that under the pretended Authority of Tradition they might foil in those Corruptions, which they knew the Holy Scriptures would by no means patronize. But to leave this Matter, and draw a Conclusion from the Premises, if according to our Constitutions, (for we are not to Answer for the Miscarriages of any particular Persons) both our Doctrine and Discipline, our Government and Worship are good and justifiable, then we cannot be Hereticks: If the *Roman* Patriarchate extended not to these Isles, then the Maintaining or Re-assuming our just Liberties cannot make us guilty of Schism, as to his Patriarchship, but the



the first is proved, therefore the latter must be true.

XLV. I should now have done with this Matter, were there not one Trifle in my Way. Men, who are Resolved not to be Couvinced, will be sure to say any thing rather than be put to Silence. And so the *Romanist*, when driven from all his Posts, Cryes out, *You were once of the Roman Communion, and did P<sup>r</sup>y Obedience to the Bishop of Rome; There was a Coalition, and therefore there must be a Schism.* Now though the Answer of this is plain from what hath been said, yet some Men must be particularly Answered in every Impertinence, or else they will Cry up their Triflings for unanswerable Arguments. Whoever denied there was a Schism? Do not we bewail it, and heartily wish that Peace were Restored to the House of *Israel*; That all Churches held a sweet Correspondence, and all Christians might Communicate in all Churches wheresoever they came, without any Scruple of Conscience, as in the primitive times? But our Enquiry is, Who are in the fault? And that the *Romanists* are the guilty Party I have in some Measure proved, and shall do it more fully hereafter, if it shall please God to Vouchsafe me Life and Leisure. But to say the Truth, there is a subtil Gincrack in this Objection, which when they speak out runs thus, *You were once United and Lived in Obedience to the See of Rome, and are now gone off from it; What do you tell us of Corruptions, Faults or ill Actions of the Church of Rome; You cannot be safe till you be reconciled, and again United to it; because that Church is the Mother and Abyss of all Churches, and the Source of all Authority.* This is indeed a nimble Way to take for granted the main Matter in dispute; And if they could easily prove it, as they are ready to beg the Question, it would go very far. But by the Way take Notice, how streightly She hath bound all other Churches in Fetters, and what a swinging Priviledge She hath Cut out for her self Let her do what She will, all others must follow Her; Let her do n ver so ill, none must so much as Accuse Her. Let her hold here, and She is safe enough; It is well Contrived, if these wicked Cross grain'd Hereticks would but believe it. They who Claim such ample Privileges, ought to produce their Charter: But when they come to proving, they produce nothing but such wretched stiffe, that Men are at a loss to return them an Answer, by being struck with Admiration at their Impudence. That other Churches have as good Authority as the *Roman*, is already proved, and shall be more fully in due place; And therefore this Assertion is an insolent Ass-front and Abuse to all the Churches of God. But yet I further Answer, That supposing some Preeminence did belong to the Church of *Rome*, that cannot justify them in an ill Cause. If ever any Church should Claim to be the Fountain of all Authority, the *Jewish Church*, whether as *Mosacal* or *Chetilian*, seems to bid the fairest for it. Upon that Stock (as I may say)

were the Christians Grafted. What Preeminence St. *Paul* allows the Jews above the Gentiles, you may read, *Rom.* the 11th. and elsewhere; And what particular Respect all the Apostles had to the Jews, how forbearing they were towards them, how yielding to them, how tender of them, and how careful and desirous to Maintain Communion with them, the Scriptures every where Testify. But yet when they became obstinate, and spake evil of Christianity, even St. *Paul* himself departed from them, and separated the Disciples. (*Acts* 19.9.) Now we have cast off a Usurped Authority, and Reformed some insufferable Abuses; For this the Pope not only with the Jews speaks evil of us, but thrusts us away, and Curseth us. Let him pretend what Privilege he will, if we be Schismatics, we are Schismatics with St. *Paul*: And in so good Company we are nothing concerned, though the Pope and his Teazers Rail and Bark at us all the Way we go. *It must needs be,* (saith our Saviour, *Matt.* 18.7) *that Offences come, but Wo to that Man by whom the Offense cometh.* So deplorable Schisms there be, and perhaps more or less will be, till the dissolution of all things put an end to them; But then Wo be to that Man, who to Maintain his enormous Greatness tramples on his Fellow Bishops, and Tyrannizeth over all Christians, and unless they will buy Peace at his unconscionable Rates, will not suffer the Wounds of the Church to be healed, nor her Breaches made up: Nay, if they should yield to him, it might indeed be some kind of uniting like Brethren in iniquity, but then it would be only a debauching, not regulating the Church, So that it was not for nothing, that *Marcellus* the second, in a Silent Melancholick posture, Leaning his Head on his Hand, at length broke forth into this Expression, *I do not see it possible, how a Man in this High Dignity can be saved.* But let them look to that, for having put in an Answer to the Claim of the Western Patriarch, and briefly Justified the actual Separation, I shall now Examine, whether the so much boasted Council of *Trent* can do them any better service.

## CHAP. V.

### *Of the Council of Trent.*

**T**Hough the best things, by the Frowardness and Contrivance of wicked Men and Seducers may be abused to the worst Ends, and perverted contrary to their Nature, to serve the most pernicious Designs, as hath been too often the Fate of Councils: yet it ought not to be denied, but that

that General Councils, or others, are of greatest Use and Benefit to the Church of God, when lawfully called and duely managed, where serious, continued and unanimous Prayers are put up for Gods Assistance, where Matters are freely and fairly debated, and where not only the Intentions but Endeavours of the Parties, are wholly bent to discover the Truth of God, not to Gratifie any Party of Men. For if God have promised to be with two or three, who are Gathered together in his Name, Surely, he will not be wanting to the Governours of his People, and the wisest and soberest of Christians, when Met together, to discover to the Christian World the poison of Hereticks, and to serve the Necessities of his Church, provided that they take due Courses; And it is Agreeable to Reason, that a Considerable Number of good and able Men Assembled together in the fear of God, where Matters are freely and fully debated, and all Moral Industry used, should be better able to discover Truth from Falshood, then any single Person, or any small Number of Men. And where Men are satisfied of the Regularity of their Proceedings, though they should not be so well satisfied in their Determinations, yet the Authority of the Persons, and unexceptionableness of their Proceedings, would be an Awe at least upon all sober and Rational persons, and make them cautious of disturbing the Churches Peace. Nor doth it seem to be without Encouragement and Direction, that the primitive Christians in difficult Cases Fled to General Councils as their Sovereign Remedy. For the Apostles themselves set them a Precedent, and the first Council at *Jerusalem*, (though small, yet perhaps the most General that ever was) was a Pattern worthy Imitation. For though the Apostles had severally the Holy Ghost, and were the Persons purposely Chosen to make known to Mankind the extraordinary Revelations of Gods Will; and so might have determined any Question concerning any such Matter by their own Authority; yet the Quarrel arising between the Jews and Gentiles concerning Circumcision, and in the Consequence concerning the whole Ceremonial Law of *Moses*, though they knew that one great End of Christs Coming was to abolish it, to fulfil its Types, and set up a more spiritual Worship; yet the whole Church being divided by this means into two Parties, they would not determine the Matter till Met in Council together; that a full debate, and their unanimous Consent might give the greater satisfaction to all. And indeed their Proceedings are an admirable Copy, for all following Councils to write after; even they, who best might, do not Magisterially give us their Naked Decrees and Definitions; for though they had the Holy Ghost, and in their Decree did say, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us*; yet they do not say this, before they had undeniably proved, that it did seem good to the Holy Ghost, and therefore ought to them. For St. Peter clearly proves, that God Himself had already

already determined the Matter in the Case of *Cornelius*; And then *Barnabas* and *Paul* as clearly proved Gods further Confirmation of it by Miracles and Wonders wrought amongst the Gentiles, whilst they Preached the Gospel to them. So that here was nothing left for Men to say against the Decrees of the Council, unless they would Argue against God. And though the same degree of Evidence and fulness of Authority do not Attend after Councils, yet it would be a great means to procure submission to them, when their Imitation of the Apostles, and Care of the Churches did Appear, by their Accompanying their Determinations with the clearest Evidence that might be.

II. Some *Romanists* will needs have every General Council (*i.e.* such as they Call Lawful) to be as infallible as that of the Apostles; but methinks they should allow some difference, if it were only for this Reason, That the Apostles did infallibly and fully discover to us the whole Truth of God in order to the Salvation of Man; All that come after them have nothing more to do, then to enquire after that Truth which they taught, and which Rests upon their Authority as Inspired by the Holy Ghost; And therefore certainly there is a great difference between them, and those who follow them, and are bound to build upon them, and are certainly in the wrong, whenever they depart from them. Infallibility is a word that sounds high, and promiseth all that Man can desire; And therefore the *Romanists* themselves would have it upon no other terms, but so, that they may have both the possession and the use of it. But when we come to look for this Salve for all Sores, we know not where to find it; for they themselves are so miserably divided, that they know not where to place it. And then how can we, or indeed they themselves, be any thing the better for it? Some say it is in the Church, some say in Tradition, some say in a General Council, some in a Council together with the Pope, some in a Council Confirmed by the Pope, (though these two last are often odly jumbled together) and some say in the Pope alone, when he defines *pro Cathedra*, and that is a Mystery too. Now in all and each of these they entangle themselves in some palpable Contradictions, and woful Absurdities, that a Man might wonder, that ever such Learned Men should Appear in their Defence, did we not see by Experience, that extravagant Interest as well as great Oppressions often make wise Men mad. The truth is, all these are set up as a blind, as shall appear in its proper place. And if their General Reasons to prove, that there must be some sort of personal Infallibility, be good, there must be another sort of Infallibility set up then any of these, and such as they themselves will by no means approve, and which none have pretended to, but the worst of Enthusiasts; And yet their Reasons must prove this, if any; Such lewd Opinions do Men Run into, when they will take upon them to prescribe to God, rather than

obey him. And indeed it hath sometimes struck Me with horreur to see how boldly they tell us, what God must do, and how presumptuously they charge him with breach of Promise, as Neglect of his people, if he do not make good all their Contrivances; As if God were bound to do, whatsoever their working Brains can think fit to Advance their unworthy and unchristian Interests. No doubt but God will not fail on his part, if we neglect not our own; But to Tye Him to serve our humours or baseness, is to provoke Him to desert us in those things, which are really most needful for us. But these things I must not here particularly pursue, nor shall I engage in the Dispute concerning the Infallibility of General Councils, both because whatever they pretend, it is not that which they would have, as also because they have Received such Answers already in that Matter from *Spalato*, the most Reverend A.B. *Land*, the Learned Dean of *St. Pauls* and others, that it is now altogether a Needle's Labour.

III. He that takes his Aim, though never so carefully, yet may sometimes miss his Mark; And if that should be my Misfortune in what I write in this place, I may in Equity expect the more favourable Usage. For though in a good Sense a Council may be said to be the Church Representative, as I shall shew anon. Yet I have Considered and Considered again, and can by no means Reconcile to Reason that Notion or Proposition, (in the sense which some Men take and Explain it,) *That a General Council is Representative of the diffusive Body of the Church.* For if it be so, it must either be by Institution from God, or Delegation from Men. But that God in any Case hath Appointed the whole Body of Christians to choose certain Persons as their Representatives, whose Acts by vertue of such Election shall be as binding, as if it had been done by all and every Man, I think can no where be found; for my own part, I could never see any Footsteps of it, or any thing like it. If on the other Hand, it be by an unprescribed spontaneous Delegation from Men, it must either be by the whole Body of Christians Met together for that purpose, or by Parts Assembled in particular Churches. The First, I think, if it be not impossible, is altogether impracticable, as the State of the Church now is: Nor was it ever put in Practice, when the Church being less, closer and better united, did not labour under those difficulties which now it doth; As for the second, it hath neither Scripture nor Antiquity on its side, and for that Little, which some may wrest to look that way, it is so very little, that it may thence Appear, that the Churches of God never thought it necessary. For though *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and certain others were sent up to *Jerusalem* about the Controversie between the Jews and Gentiles, (*Acts* 15. 2.) Yet there is not any Circumstance to lead us to think otherwise, but that they went by Order or Agreement of these Governours.



vernours of the Churches, (among whom that Controverſie had been debated, but could not be finally decided, by reaſon of the turbulency of the Jews) and not by Election of the People: And when the Council Met at *Jeruſalem*, though all Chriſtians had freedom to Appear in it; yet when the Apoſtles and Elders are ſaid to come together to Conſider of the Matter, (*verſe 6.*) they Met by their own Authority. And farther, if a Council be ſo the Church Representative, that in Order to its being a Representative, it be neceſſary, that the Perſons Appearing be Eleſted from the Church-Members of particular Churches; the Conſequence will be, That the firſt four Famous General Councils were not lawful Councils; for they Met by the Emperours Summons, not by Election from the People; And therefore upon this Suppoſition could not be duly Convocated. Beſides, if a Deputation of the People or Church-Members be neceſſary, let the Honour or Orders of the Perſons deputed be what it will, they muſt Reſent moſtly as Laymen; for ſuch are Incomparably the far greater Number; But we read not of any Biſhops Sitting in Council, but as Biſhops, and ſubſcribing as Biſhops, and taking place there by vertue of their own Authority as Biſhops, not by any Deputation; unleſs perhaps ſome Perſon Appeared for ſome abſent Biſhop as well as himſelf, or as the Legate of ſome Biſhop; But then a Commiſſion or Deputation from that abſent Biſhop was ſufficient without ſo much as Conſulting any Church-Members. I do not ſay, but that ſome Perſons were Chosen on purpoſe to be ſent to Councils, but then they were either ſuch Priests or Deacons, as the Biſhops thought fit to take along with them, or were pitch'd on by the Advice of their Clergy. And we have a Cuſtom amongſt our ſelves, that Two out of every Dioceſs be Chosen and ſent to the Provincial Synod or Convocation; And though it is Reaſonable that ſome ſhould be there, who by daily Inſpection and Experience underſtand the Countreys Affairs, and the Circumſtances of the Rural Clergy, upon whom not the leaſt part of the Burthen lies; yet the great Reaſon is this, That the Determinations of the Convocation may paſs into the Law of the Land, which they cannot do, unleſs the Convocation conſiſts of ſuch Perſons as the Law requires, whoſe Acts muſt be Ratified by the King alſo to that purpoſe. But then thoſe Perſons ſo Chosen are only the Proctors of the Clergy, not Deputies of the People: And Canons for the Church might be made without them, though not Laws of the Land. And indeed the *Romaniſts* themſelves, though they talk loud of a Councils being the Churches Representative, yet ſometimes they are as dumb again, and willing to let it ſleep, or to ſniſt it off. When they have to do with private Perſons, or ſuch whom they Call Hereticks, then they talk big of their pack'd Councils, and what a Madneſs it is to withſtand the Representative of the whole Church of God; This looks great, and ſeems to carry

carry no small Authority with it: But if Discourse happen of a Council in Relation to the Pope, then they are as Mute as Fishes, or Mince the Matter, and will by no means be induced to speak out as to any such Authority in Councils of themselves. And it is well known, That the Tridentines were never suffered to use the Phrase, *Represensans universalem Ecclesiam*, though many stickled hard for it, the Pope being in no small fear, that an Inference would be thence drawn, That any Member, how great soever, was Inferiour to the Representative of the whole Body of Gods Church, the Consequence of which might have been fatal to Himself. But the Question concerning the Right to, or Exercise of Authority in any diffusive Body of Men, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, perhaps deserves a more thorough Examination, then it hath ever yet undergone; And consequently, whether any can? And if any, then who and how far they can make a Representative? I may perhaps have Occasion to discourse of it hereafter, but shall not in this place.

IV. He that proceeds only in a destructive way, gives too much Advantage to Loose Wits, and in stead of Instructing unsettles weak Heads. It is therefore but just, that he who opposeth what he thinks a Mistake, should set down what he thinks right; lest he do more hurt by leaving nothing to build upon, then he doth good by discovering an Errour, which perhaps might be harmless, if Consequences of too great moment were not Wire-drawn from it. If therefore we should say, That a Council, (i.e. as far as Relates to such Churches, whose Bishops Appear in Council) is the Church Authoritative; and in Consequence the Representative, as bringing with it all that Authority Christ left in his Church, and which he Lodg'd in his Church Officers, by Vertue of which Authority they Represent, and not by any Deputation from the People or Church Members; I think that (with submission to better Judgements) it would be much more plain in the Explication, and facile in the Reasons of it; And thence would Evidently Appear the true Grounds of the different force of their Decrees and Canons. For in what Relates to Discipline and external Government, every Bishop hath Power to make Orders in his own Church; And when they are Met in Council together, for the Agreement and Harmony of Churches, and better upholding Communion, they may make Rules, binding all those Churches, and in all things lawful and honest they are to be obeyed. For in their Hands God left the Government of his Church as a Church. And it is no less then an Apostolical Command, in reference to Church-Governours; *Obeys them that have the Rule over you, and submit yourselves, &c.* (Heb: 13. 17.) And this is so clear from the Practice of the primitive Church, that to bring a few Instances, were only to light a Candle to the Sun. But then those Regimental Rules or Orders were not binding to those Churches, whose Bishops were not there either by themselves or their

Delegates, and Consenting to them, though they were bound to observe them, whenever upon any Occasion they came to any of those Churches, on whom they were laid; And also had a Power to Receive and confirm them, if they found them convenient for their Churches, and so to make them Obligatory *ex post facto*, though they themselves were not at the Council. And it is farther Observable, That Constitutions of this Nature were never thought to be so unalterable and binding. But that not only following General Councils might alter them, but even Provincial Councils in some Cases might Rescind, what more General Councils had Appointed. For no Laws are binding contrary to their own End and Design. Now the End and Design of their Constitutions: being the Peace and Benefit of the Churches, and for the most part in Matters of themselves by Nature indifferent or mutable; It can hardly be, that in all things their General Sanctions should Hit the Condition of all Churches, for Climates alter Men much; And the Humours, Inclinations and Customes of People much vary in different places, yea, not seldom in the same place, in different Ages. So that what is convenient, easie and useful in one place, may be inconvenient, uneasie and unprofitable in another. If therefore by Reason of the Condition of some particular Church or Churches, which was not well made known to the General Council, some of their Constitutions should prove to be really and truly Burthenfom and Offensive to such Churches: If there be no Prospect of another General Council near at Hand, a Provincial Council of their own, who understand their state and necessities, may Relieve them, by making other Orders more Fit and Practicable for them; but always with Honour and Observance of those Constitutions, where they do take place, and without any Contempt or disrespect, where they are laid aside. To this Effect is that Answer of our Learned Dr. Beveridge to his forward Observator, *Nemo nescit Synodos Posteriores saepe alia, nonnunquam & contraria constituisse ac quae prioribus constituta fuerant, idque licet Priores illa aemulonica sive Universales & Posteriores singularium tantummodo Provinciarum Synodi essent, quod sexcentis, sine ulla esset, exemplis demonstrare licet*, (Cod. Can. Ecc. pri. lib. 1. cap. 3.) In these things (if I mistake not) consists the greatest and most direct Power of Councils; for these things are to be received and observed by virtue of their own Authority. And hence it is Observable, That in most ancient Councils, the greatest Part of their Canons relate to Discipline and Government. And they never Cared to meddle with Matter of Doctrine, unless the Troubles of the Church and unquietness of Hereticks constrained them to it. And though in this Case, not only Men in inferiour Orders, but even prudent Laymen may be Consulted with, and have liberty to Advise and freely speak their Thoughts, that the state of the Church may be the better known, yet the decisive Voice is in the Bishop: And that

the Contrary Asserted by *Spalato* is a great Mistake; I shall happily have Occasion to prove; when I come to speak of the Nature, Power and Rights of Episcopacy, in opposition to the *Roman* See, whose Usurpations have not only diminished, but in a manner destroyed that Order, to the irreparable damage of Gods Church, and without the Restoration of which to its just Rights, I see not how the Church can hope for either Unity or Peace.

V. But though in Relation to Government and Discipline the Power of Bishops in Council is very great, yet in Matters of Doctrine it is by no means the same. For he that Committed to their Trust the Government of his Church, gave them no Power over the Faith. Rules for Discipline may alter, as Cases alter; But the Gospel of Christ Jesus must be yesterday, and to day, and the same for ever. No Monckish *Evangelium æternum*, nor Fanatick *Evangelium armatum*, must be suffered to thrust this out of doors; What Christ and his Apostles delivered to the Saints at first must be the Rule to the last: And therefore here the Business of Councils is not to Appoint but Enquire; Not to Constitute, but declare: They have no Authority to make us a New Gospel, or any New Article of Faith, but to discover the Old; And therefore here their Authority goes equal pace with their Sincerity, Diligence and Skill. And if these Qualifications be truly in them, and duly used; It is all the Reason in the World that we should Acquiesce in their Determinations, and that not only because we cannot have any better or more able Body of Men to decide the Controversie; But also because we have good Grounds to believe, that God will Afford them his Assistance; for the Promise made to the Disciples of being with them always to the End of the World, is not capable of any other Construction, but of his Affording not only to them, but to their Successors sufficient Aid and Assistance to preserve, discover, teach and declare that Truth and Doctrine, which our Blessed Saviour and his Apostles taught, and left with them to be taught to the End of the World, for the Salvation of Souls. And though even Laymen, as being all Concerned in the Common Salvation, may Challenge a Right to Appear in Council in orderly Manner and Number, yet certainly the greatest Authority lies in them, to whom God hath committed the Care of all the Churches, and who must Answer for others Souls as well as their own. Where therefore the Pastors of the Church are Met together about Matters relating to the Necessities of the Church, and are Honest, Industrious and able; I doubt not, but that in Matters of Religion their Authority is the greatest of any Men on Earth. God, I think, would not suffer such Men, so qualified, to deceive us in any thing of necessity to Salvation, and therefore they are not lightly to be regarded. And if these things could be truly said for the Council of *Trent*, I should have a better esteem for it, then I am like to have in haste. But on the other hand, if

any Pastors of the Church, how many soever, though never so able and industrious, Meet together, and be not Honest and Sincere, but (at least by the prevailing Number) for base Interest, labour by subtle and unworthy Arts not to Amend, but Establish gross Errors, Abuses and Corruptions; These Men not only Offer the greatest Assault to God and his Christ, but Attempt to put the most pernicious Cheat upon the Christian World; And in stead of Assistance from God, they may rather expect, that in Judgement he should give them over to strong delusions, to believe a Lye. And these are to be Abominated, and with as great indignation Rejected, as good and lawful Councils are with Reverence to be received and followed. And in which of these Ranks the Council of *Trent* ought to stand, I shall now Enquire

VI. And in the first place, it may not be Amiss, to Consider what time was taken to Frame and Mould this Council to the Popes Mind. The Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* having Eclipsed the Roman See in the very Height of its Greatness and Glory, the Popes ever since have looked with a malignant Aspect upon General Councils, and the very Naming one was enough to put any of them into a Fit of a Feavour; And indeed this made following Councils not only useless but noxious. For if the Necessities of the Church seemed at any time to Require a General Council, the Pope would never suffer it to be, but in such place that he could Command; And always took care, that it should Consist of such Parsons, who at least for the greater Number were at his devotion; And yet even then was wofully unsuccesseful, till it was Finished; so unwilling are Popes to trust themselves with a Council, though themselves have the packing of it. But that Spark, which first fell through the Clashing of *Luther* and the Pardonmongers, being blown to such a Flame, that no Common Help could quench it, a General Council seemed necessary: But to Manage it for the Advantage of the Roman See, and to hold it in convenient place was a Matter of no small difficulty in such times of Confusion; so that it seemed to be as dangerous to the Pope, as it was necessary for the Church. It was well for the Court of *Rome*, that the greatest Princes of those times were perswaded that it was the Popes Right, (though meerly Founded upon Usurpations) to Call General Councils: For by this means they gained time to Fit Matters for their Turn; And yet though the most Refined Politicians in the World, it was not a little time did serve their Turn; For though the Popes successively seemed daily willing, that so they might stop Mens Mouths, and Gratifie their Importunity, yet was it not less then Twenty seven years before these perfect Crafts-Masters could Contrive Matters to their Mind, and then too they were rather Necessitated then willing, and in no small fear that their Wings would be Clipt. *Luther's* first Appeal to a General Council, which was quickly followed with the desire,



of all *Germany*, was in the Year 1518. But the Council of *Trent* did not open till the 13th. of *December* 1545. So long did this Compassionate Successor of *St. Peter* suffer the Wounds of the Church to Lye Bleeding, and at last only Cured them as Chyrurgions do Gangrenes, by Cutting off the Members. As for the Indictions at *Mantua* and *Vicenza*, I make no Account of them; for as it may Reasonably be suspected, that they were only Shams to gain time; so had either taken effect; it is certain it was a Device to keep the Council in greater Slavery, then it was at *Trent*, though it was so great there, that little good could be expected from it, as shall presently appear. And now after so long Plotting, having got something like a Council, in a frightful place, at a time when Christian Princes were most jealous of each other, and the Pope had Leisure and Opportunity to play his Game; Let us enquire into its State and Actions; And if just Exceptions cannot be brought against it, let it take place.

VII. I do not pretend to bring all the just Exceptions, which may be Alledged against the Council of *Trent*; It is sufficient, if those few I shall bring; or any one of them be so material and to the purpose, as to Justify our Rejecting it. Now the first Quarrel I have against them is, that the prevailing Part all along carried on a Design to betray the Liberties of all the Churches, and the Power of all Bishops to the Pope, and to make him the absolute Monarch of the whole Church. And what good can we expect from Men, who were Traitors to their own Order? But though there could be no greater baseness and falseness then such a Design, yet it must be Confessed, that never was an Intrigue Managed more Neatly, or more Silly brought about, for they never Offer to put his Supremacy to the Vote, nor by any express Canon or Decree declare or give it him; for that might have Awakened the Sleeping Bishops, and Alarm'd the World, and perhaps they might not have Carried it; Or if they had, yet what one Council gave, another might take away; At least he must have been beholding to them, and held it as their Gift, which would not do the Pope's Business. But more craftily, whilst the Council was intent upon other Matters, they upon all Occasions Slurr in such words into the Decrees and Canons, which though nothing to the purpose, as to the Matter to be decided, (and therefore in all likelihood little Heeded) yet might infer the Pope's Supremacy by an Antecedent or Divine Right; And thus they insensibly put him out of the Reach of all Councils, and did their Work more effectually, then if they had spoke never so plainly, Those who Heedfully Read over the Canons and Decrees of the Council of *Trent*, may furnish themselves with plenty of Instances; To Avoid Tedioufness I shall only mention some few. For a Trial how this would glide down, the Decree for Reformation is Ushered in with these words, *Eadem SS. Synodus Pii Summarum Pontificum, & Probatorum Conciliorum*  
*Con-*

*Constitutionibus inharens*, (Sess. 5. cap. 1.) Here the Pope is not only put before the Councils, but that ye might see by what Right he is Adorned with the Epithet *Summus*; And though the Councils are suffered to wait on him, yet it is with a Restriction, they must be such as are *Probata*: Now what those are, and who shall have the Approving them, any Man may guess without being suspected for a Conjuror; For with them the meanest Provincial Council is as good as a General, if Confirmed by the Pope, and without his Confirmation the most General is not worth a Rush. Thus what Arrivelled things are Councils to a Pope? But as if all Reformation Consisted in exalting the Pope, in the Decree of Reformation, (Sess. 6. cap. 1.) He is stiled, *Ipsius Dei in Terris Vicarius*; They could hardly have made him greater, unless they had stiled Him, *Our Lord God the Pope*; And in the latter part of the same Decree they declare him to be *Captain Mend-all*, with a power to punish at Discretion, even the Highest Prelates of the Church; And that not by Vertue of any Trust reposed in Him by the Council, but *Sue Supreme Sedis Auctoritate*: This I think is pretty fair, they did deserve to be stroked and called his white Boys for it. When they come to determine the Matter concerning the Reservation of Cases, which extreamly needed Reformation, (for by that means Persons oft were forced to Travel to *Rome*, from the farthest Countreys at vast Charges, and often for meer Trifles) in stead of Reforming, they justify it; And for fear of losing the booty, they seem willing that some other Bishops should have a Share with Subordination to his Holiness; But as for the Pope himself, they tell us roundly, that he may do it *Merito pro Suprema Potestate, sibi in Ecclesia Universalis tradita*, (Sess. 14. cap. 7.) This, I think, drives the Nail home, and Clinches it too; for if his be the Supreme Power in the Universal Church, that Man or Men had need be Back'd with a strange Authority, who shall dare to Controul or oppose Him. Further, the Matter is so Ordered, that the Council frequently gives the Pope the Title of *Dominus noster*, and the Consequence can be no less, but that they were or ought to be his Humble Servants. Perhaps some will say, that this was done in good Manners, and by way of Complement. But put a Complement upon the Pope, and if it serves his Turn, he interprets it a Reality; And the Decrees and Canons of this Council are Restrained to his Interpretation, that they can only speak what he pleases, so that he may make the utmost Use of it; And we know, that Sayings, which do not by the hundredth part so much Countenance his Supremacy, are Confidently brought in to prove it. An endless and needless Labour it would be to pursue all Instances of this kind, and therefore I shall Content my self with one more. When most Men were Tyred out and grown Sick of the Council, and the Papalins being in fear of the Popes Death, were Resolved to Conclude it in a Hurry, in the very last Session this Decree passeth, *Postremo Sancta Synodus*,

*Synodus, omnia & singula, sub quibuscunque clausulis & verbis, quæ de Morum Reformatione, atque Ecclesiasticâ Disciplinâ, tam sub fel. rec. Paulo 3tio, ac Julio 3tio, quem sub Beatissimo Pio 4to Pontificibus Maximis, in hoc Sacro Concilio statuta sunt, declarat, ita decreta fuisse, ut in his Salva semper Auctoritas Sedis Apostolicæ & sit & esse, intelligatur, (cap. 21.)* Now if they had done any thing as to the Pope before, this had undone it all: And this, with the Help of such a Construction as the Pope may put upon it, may enable Him to do what he will; He is now left to Carve for Himself, and if he want any thing it is his own fault. By what Surprise this Decree was obtained, the Historians briefly tells us. When a Council was just Shutting up, few Men gave their Minds to Heed or stick at any thing; and therefore in the Close of the day this is passed as a thing granted, though it had never been mentioned in any Congregation, (*Hist. C. T. lib. 8 pag. 812,*) Now what the Authority here designed is, you may give a shrewd Guess by the Acclamation in the Shutting up of the Council, *Beatissimo Pio Papa, & Domino nostro, Sanctæ Universalis Ecclesiæ Pontifici, &c.* What can he desire more? It seems the Dispute about *Universalem Ecclesiam* and *Universas Ecclesias*, was out of their Heads now.

VIII. As to the Authority of Bishops, it was the Contrivance of the Council all along, by all Arts possible, to bring it in a manner to nothing. 'Tis true, some were sensible of the Mischief of this, and amongst such the Spaniards deserved no mean Commendation, especially *Granata*, then whom there was not a more brave and Magnanimous Prelate in all the Council: It wanted not much once, but that they had out-witted the early Legats; but their honest Plot being discovered, they were quickly over-born by the Italians and Pensioners, who never Consider what is Right, but what will serve the Pope's Turn: And to exalt him, it was necessary to depress all other Bishops; for if other Bishops be Christ's Vicars as well as the Pope, they will be in danger to be his Fellows; but if they be only Vicars, or Delegates of Christ's Vicar, then they must submit to Him as their Head, from whom they derive all their Authority. And to bring it to this Pass they used many Arts, though none more effectual than this, which shall be the only Instance I shall produce in this place. In the Matter of Reformation it was necessary to seem to do something, (though God knows their Reformation was much like *Boocalline's* in *Parnassus*, which after a mighty Bustle, and vast Expectations, Amounted to no more than the Moderating the Price of Cabbages and Onions.) Now though in things of greatest Concern, the Reformation was left to the Pope, which was *Magno conatu nihil agere*; yet all could not be so Referred, and the Execution of such things had been always left to the Bishops: Now to have Committed them to any other Hands, would have been not only to bring themselves under Eternal Infamy, but to put the World

in a Mutiny; On the other Hand, to leave it to them would seem to infer a Right, if not a Divine Right in prejudice of the Pope. One would think here they had been taken in a Noose, but they slip the Knot with ease; And certainly never any thing was more Neatly taken away in the very giving. For when Matters came under debate, which did Require the Exercise of Jurisdiction upon the place, they then Committed it to the Bishops, but with this Restriction, *As Delegates of the Apostolick See*. Here indeed the Bishops Received a Power to Exercise some Authority, but in the very Accepting it they gave up their Right, and placed all Authority Originally in the Pope; so that if he pleased at any time to undelegate them, he did in effect unbishop them. And yet the only Reason which moved the Cardinals, *St. Clemens* and *Alexandrinus* to persevere in their Opinione to the last against the Confirmation of the Council, was this, *That too much Authority had been Given to Bishops in that Council*, (*Hist. C. T. lib. 8. p. 817.*) So Jealous is the Roman Court of the Authority of Bishops, that they are not willing to Allow them the Shadow of it; And indeed they have Reason for it, for if every Bird had her own Feather, those Jolly Cardinals, now Princes Mates, would Appear to be only a parcel of bald Costes. For this and some other Reasons the Council of *Trent* might have Waited for a Confirmation, had not *Hugo Buoncompagno* Bishop of *Besice*, not only clearly Convinced the Pope, that he was no Loser by the Council; but also taught Him a Trick how He might make waat he pleased of it, and become no small Gainer by it, (*Hist. C. T. p. 816.*) To all this the Bigoted sort of *Romanists* will Return, that it is the Pope's Right. But if it be not his Right, then both He and that Council are guilty of a World of Wrong done to the Churches of God. But that Dispute is not proper in this place, but will be fully Handled in the Particular of Supremacy; And if they be cast in that, they must be so in this.

IX. It hath ever been Held to be one necessary Qualification of a General Council, That it be free; And therefore I may Reasonably put in this Exception against that at *Trent*, That it was in manifest Slavery all the time. If there were nothing more to be urged but the Decree *Proponantibus Legatis*, that alone were sufficient; For by this means the Bishops, who best knew the state of their Churches, could not offer any thing in Council, how needful soever they knew it to be; And what should be debated, was wholly left to their pleasure, who either could not understand the state of the Churches; Or if they did, yet did not regard it, but made it their whole Business to Advance the Interest of the Court of *Rome*. And though it was Pleaded, that this was a New Thing never before done in any Council; though at several times strong Reasons were brought to prove, that it Infringed the Liberty of the Council; And from time to time great Intercession was made

to take off that Decree, yet it could never be obtained; And we may Reasonably believe, that it was Resolved it never should, whatsoever they might pretend. For when this Decree with no small Art had passed, the Pope was so well pleased with the News, that he wrote privately to the Legats, That they should Maintain it firmly, and put it in Execution, without Relenting one jot, (*Hist. C. T. lib. 6. p. 470.*) But though this was too much yet this did not satisfie them; But they took still a greater Liberty to Enslave all the Rest. For when they had proposed any Matter, if the debate did not proceed to their Mind, they took upon them to interrupt Men in their speaking, and to Check, Reproach or Threaten Others; so that several died of Grief or Indignation for the Disgrace and Abuse Received; And some pretended Necessity of Business, or want of Health, and Asked leave to depart, and were not a little glad they were got away. If this did not do, then by Prorogations and Delays they wearied Men out, and would do nothing till an Opportunity Presented for their purpose. Neither was the Council under leis Restraint as to time, then Matter; they were so far from having any Power to Sit, till they had dispatched the weighty Affairs they came about, that they could not Sit an Hour longer then they pleased their Masters the Legats; For they had a Bull by them, empowering them to prorogue, transfer or dissolve the Council as they should think Fit. So that let the Necessities of *Christendom* be what they will, if the Designs of the Legats were not carried on, all the Bishops in Council must either Sit still and cool their Heels, or March off and be gone; And that they were Resolved to take this Course, if they could not Compass their Ends, is manifest from that rude Translation of it to *Bolegni*. And yet one would think there should be little need of all this Caution; for the Council consisted wholly of Persons sworn to the Pope, in as full and ample Manner as any Oath of Allegiance can be made by a Subject to his Lawful Prince, as is plain from the Form of the Oath set down by our Learned *D. of St. P.* (*Find. A. B. L. cap. 8. p. 491.*) so that they could Practise nothing contrary to the Pope's Will without being guilty of Perjury; And the Legats upon Occasion did not fail to put them in Mind of it. Indeed, it may more properly be called a Faction then a Council, for there were none Admitted but the Pope's Party; And was it likely, that they should do right, who were Complained of for doing all the wrong? The Protestants are not suffered to Come and Sit as a Part of the Council, but to be heard as Criminals: And they had great Encouragement to come, who were Condemned before-hand. Three Safe Conducts were Granted to the Protestants, Two under *Julius* *gins*, and one under *Pius* *gins*, but not one of them will Admit them as Members of the Council, but supposeth them to come as Offenders, with a liberty to make the best of their Cause they can. But he, who shall Heedfully



read the first Safe-Conduct, will see, that it was rather intended for a Snare to Trepan them, then an Instrument to Secure them. That Phrase, *Quantum ad ipsam Sanctam Synodum spectat*, looks suspiciously, as if they intended it as a Reserve for another to do that, which they were ashamed of themselves; and there is the greater Reason to think this, because the very last words of the Safe-Conduct shew, that they did intend to proceed against such, whom they should judge Hereticks; Only they promise, that they shall have *Judices sibi benevolos*, i. e. They shall be Hanged with Silken Halters. And what kind of Entertainment they were like to find, we may hence Guess, that it is sometimes plainly said by some in Council, *That their Coming thither was to Condemn the Lutherans*; And when *Vega* spoke of a *Lutheran* Opinion, as Reconcilable with what they called Catholick, the Council was highly Offended, as thinking it a prejudice, that any of the Differences might be thought Reconcilable, (*Hist. C.T. p. 208.*) yet they had the best Knack at Reconciling, when they had a Mind to it, that I ever knew; for they could Reconcile differences amongst themselves, that were as opposite as Light and Darknells, without Condemning either of the Contraries; Witness among others, the Controversie between the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* about the immaculate Conception. They were so bent on this design, that they would Admit none into the Council, who were thought in the least to favour the Reformers. When *Vergerius* Fleed to the Council, though as a Bishop he had Right to a place there, yet the Legats would not suffer him to be there, but send him to the Pope to clear himself from the Imputation of *Lutheranism*; And he was glad to be gone, and at last to get out of *Italy*, though he did in some Measure Requite the Kindness afterwards. For in Revenge he wrote a Book to prove, that all Liberty was taken away from the Council, and that it was Called by the Pope, not to Establish the Doctrine of Christ, but the Servitude and Oppression of poor Souls, (*Hist. C.T. p. 436.*) And though he had been foully abused, and was an angry Man, yet in this he was too much in the Right. But as some were not Admitted, so such as did Sit there were upon their good Behaviour, and might by one Device or another be Fetcht out of the Council at pleasure. Even one of their greatest Creatures the Bishop of *Bisonta*, was Cited from the Council to Appear before the Auditor of the *Rota* at *Rome*, such a piece of Impudence as was never before Practised, and enough to have made the Council Assert its Authority against the Pope, if there had been any Considerable Number of any Courage or Honesty. But though upon the Bishops modest Complaint the Legats were ashamed of it, and the poorer Bishops began to be Murtherous, yet the Pope made his Advantage of all. For laying hold on this opportunity, as it were, in Compassion to succour the meaner Bishops, he made Pensioners and fast Friends of those, who were in danger to be his Enemies;

Enemies; and gained a clear Instance of the Pope's Exercising Jurisdiction over a Council. And though this shews Him to have been a dextrous Artist, who could so easily turn his danger to his gain, and Kill two Birds thus with one Stone; yet it speaks little in Commendation of those, who what in them lay sold the Liberties of all Christians so Dog-cheap. And though the Pope was thus secured of them, yet they were not trusted: But when the Legats had prepared any thing, if it was not treated of in all Points to their liking, it was either utterly qualshed, or laid aside at pleasure. When as Matter of Reformation it was proposed to set down the Qualities, requisite in the Promotion of the greater Prelates and Ministers of the Church, which certainly might have been of great use and profit to so disordered and corrupt a State, as the Churches Affairs were then in; It was all presently turned out of doors, and that chiefly for this Reason, *Because more then two Thirds of the Benefices are Reserved to the Apostolick See, unto which it is not Eia to Prescribe a Law*, (Hist. C. T. lib. 2. p. 216.) When the Matter of Residence was treated of with some little Heat, they were all presently cooled, and the Matter put off, Cardinal *Morie*, after some specious Pretences, plainly telling them, *That the Pope's Will was Resolutely so*, (Hist. C. T. lib. 2. p. 232.) And with this they are all struck dumb. And as they might not speak but with Leave and Licence, so what they did was insignificant, if it Chanc'd afterwards not to please the Pope. For the Council having taken Care for Correcting the Vulgar Edition, and for procuring an exact Impression, and having Employed Deputies on the Work; When this News came to *Rome*, the Pope undoeth it all by his own Authority, and the Legats in pursuance of his Order, cause the Deputies to desist from the Work, and to bring all they had done to them, and this without any Respect to the Council, or so much as making them privy to it. It seems somewhat strange, that they should have no more at least seeming liberty, but be used so scornfully; For the Pope had ever the Major Party in the Council. It began, if not altogether, yet for the most part with his own Creatures: And they, when but a contemptible Number, and (as the Historian saith) for the greater part a very ignorant Parcel of Men, defined Matters of the greatest Concern, which were never before defined; And too soon then. But when Cardinal *Paccego* gave Information, that the *Spanish Bishops*, Men of exemplary Piety and great Learning, were coming to the Council, the Legats thought (as they truly found) that their Task would be harder: And therefore they began timely to look about them, and solicit the Pope to send them trusty Bishops to out-vote the *Utramontans*, (as they called them) (Hist. C. T. lib. 2. p. 141.) This did well enough all the time of *Paul* and *Julius*; But when the *French* were preparing to come to the Council in the time of *Pius 4<sup>th</sup>*, the Running of such Mens coming, who were naturally of a daring temper, and free

Speech, and in no great danger of incurring the displeasure of their King for either, so Alarm'd the Pope, that he openly and with little less than a professed Design for out-Voting them, sent such a strength of Confidents and Titulars, that the Papalins in Council were themselves ashamed of it; for by that it was manifest, that nothing could be done in that Council, but what was Carried by his Creatures, and consequently by himself. This will still be more plain, if we Consider the Number of Prelates in *Trent*. The Catalogue at the End of the Council tells us, that they came from fourteen Nations; but if it were well Examined, it would Appear, that many of the Prelates of those several Nations were only Titulars, or the Pope's Pensioners; But the Number of all together, (and yet they never were all together) Amounts to 281. Now all of this Number, (take Procurators and all) which Appeared at various times from thirteen Nations, were only 91, the Rest were all *Italians*, the Pope's Devotees, who either for fear durst not, or for Interest would not in the least oppose him; and they Amounted to 189, which makes somewhat above two Thirds of the Council. Now when all the Complaints were against the Court of *Rome*, let any Man judge what could be Carried in a Council, wherein the Pope had so much the Major Party, and Voices were Numbered and not weighed. And when the Council is Called by Him, and Consists chiefly of Persons, whose dependance is on Him, and all Sworn to Him, and when they are Met, must Treat of nothing but what is Proposed by his Order, nor then any further, or in any other Manner than makes for his Interest; And if any thing displeases, are liable to be sent packing away when he pleases; And their Orders may be discharged without their Consent, and are in all things under his Government, who will never suffer them to follow their own Judgement. I humbly desire to know by what Figure such a Council is called Free, for in proper speaking it cannot be so.

X. Another small Objection which I have against this Council is this, That the Decrees and Canons set forth in that Councils Name, were really not the Decrees and Canons of the Council: for the Truth is, it was a meer Sham, and only a Skreen or Curtain-drawn between the World and the Pope, that he might play his Game more safely out of Sight. For what do they tell us of *Trent*? If there was any Council, it was at *Rome*; for there all was really Transacted and Concluded, In *Trent* they did only Act the Play which Others made, and therefore it is unjust that they should be Accounted the Authors of it, and Rob Others of their Glory; for though they carry the Name, yet in Truth the Tridentine Fathers, were neither Fathers nor Mothers of those Decrees and Canons, but were only the Midwives to deliver the Pope and Conclave of a Brat, which they had long been big with; though they were partly forced and partly Hired to take it upon them.

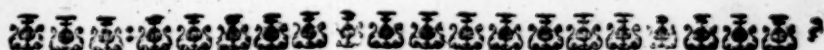
themselves, lest the World should have judged it a Bastard-Child. By the Orders of *Paul* the 3d. to the Legats, they were to receive from him what they should propose, deliberate and conclude, and not to publish any Decree in Session, before they had Communicated it at *Rome*, (*Hist. C.T. lib. 2. p. 164*) And all along there were Deputies in *Rome* kept over the Council, that nothing could be dispatched in *Trent*, till they had first Considered, Corrected and Concluded the Matter, and satisfied the Pope in it: And then he sent it to *Trent*, that it might pass for their Decree. And to this purpose Dispatches came from *Rome* every Week at least once, and sometimes twice, unless the Waters were up, (as they often were these) and then the Pope could not inspire them, but the Legats were forced to make delays, and Buse the Council in By-matters; of all which a very pleasant Account is given in the Letter of the Bishop of Five-Churches to the Emperour. And sometimes it Hapned, that the Deputies in *Rome* did not understand the Affair so well as the Legats, who were upon the place; And so the Pope sometimes put things upon them that were uneasie or unsafe; And then they were at a Stand, whether they should follow his Orders or his Interest; But the Common Resolution was to Employ the Council in something else, till they could give the Deputies more full Information and Satisfaction, that the Orders might be Corrected, but still nothing could be Concluded in the Council, till it was first Agreed on and determined at *Rome*; And from that they were not to depart. Now I cannot understand, but that those who made the Decrees and Canons, were more effectually the Council, then those who published them. And being *Romanists* are apt to Ask, what Objection can be made against the Council of *Trent*, which may not also be made against the Council of *Nice*? I desire to know of them, whether they will say that these things can be truly Objected against the Council of *Nice*? If not, then they must Acknowledge a wide difference.

XI. But suppose these and other Objections did not Lye against it, yet what is the Council of *Trent* to us? If the Acts of that Council bind us it must either be from the Authority of the Council, or the Nature of the things determined. If from the Nature of the things, then they are binding before, and without the Council: And so where the Council of *Trent* is in the Right; we may receive it for its own sake, not the Councils; because it is true, not because the Tridentine Fathers so determined; And so the Plea of the Council is laid aside to Examine the Nature of the thing. But if those Acts must be supposed Binding by Vertue of the Authority of the Council, I would know how that Authority Reacheth us? for Councils bind those Churches, whose Bishops are present and Consenting to them. And though the Pope hath Usurped the Privilege to be the only Confirmer of Councils, yet Anciently his Confirmation Reached no further  
then

then to his own Church or Diocese at most; And every Bishop had as much power to Confirm Councils as He, and the Council stood in as much need of their Confirmation as his in Respect of their particular Churches; And their Common Stile in Subscribing was, *Ego A. B. Confirmavi, Corroboravi*, or the like. And if they did not do thus, the Decrees and Canons of the Council were not Reputed to be Binding to their particular Churches. If the Determinations of the Council were thought to be of General Concern, then they were sent to other Churches, whose Bishops were not there, and they might Receive or Reject, either in whole or in part, but what they received they bound themselves to, but not but by their own Act. Now what Bishops of ours were at *Trent*? or when did we receive it or approve it *ex post facto*? *Henry* the 8th. was so far from sending any Bishops to that Council, that he Protested against it. *Edward* the 6th. was less a Friend to it. What *Queen Mary* would have done, I know not; But all the time of her Reign the Council was under a Suspension, and sate not; And though it was Revived again in *Queen Elizabeth* time, yet it is well known, that she thought, that neither the Pope had Right to Call a Council, nor equal that he should Preside in it; Neither did any of the Bishops of her time, (either of those put out, or those put in) Appear there. As for the Blind *Irish-man*, he is nothing to us, and as little I think to his own Nation. It is indeed true, that Cardinal *Pools* an *Englishman*, whom even Protestants Honour for his Moderation and Piety, was in that Council some small time under *Paul* the Third; But he sate there as the Pope's Legat, not an *English* Bishop: Nay, at that time he was not a Bishop, at least not of any *English* Church, nor deputed by any Bishop of Ours; And therefore could not Carry with Him the Authority of any one of our Churches. I wonder the Pope had not so much forecast, as to Set up some Titulars to supply this defect; But if He had, we should have little Regarded such a Mock-Authority. And as none of our Bishops were there, so there is not the least Colour to say, that we Received it since; And therefore they may Keep their Council for a Snare to themselves, it doth not bind us. And this Argument ought to be Held good, even in the Opinion of the Council of *Trent* it self, for when in Order to Carrying a Matter under debate, the Determination of the Council of *Florence* was urged, it was pressed as an Argument against the *Spaniards*, not against the *French*; And for this Reason, that the one Nation had Received that Council, but not the other. And thus I have done with the General Part, and now we must come to a more close Fight, insisting upon such Particulars, as may both Justify our Separation, and withal make manifest, that whatever they pretend, the true Reason of their Adherence to those Matters is only a Selfish and Unchristian Interest.







BOOKS Sold by (and Printed for) RICHARD NORTH-  
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